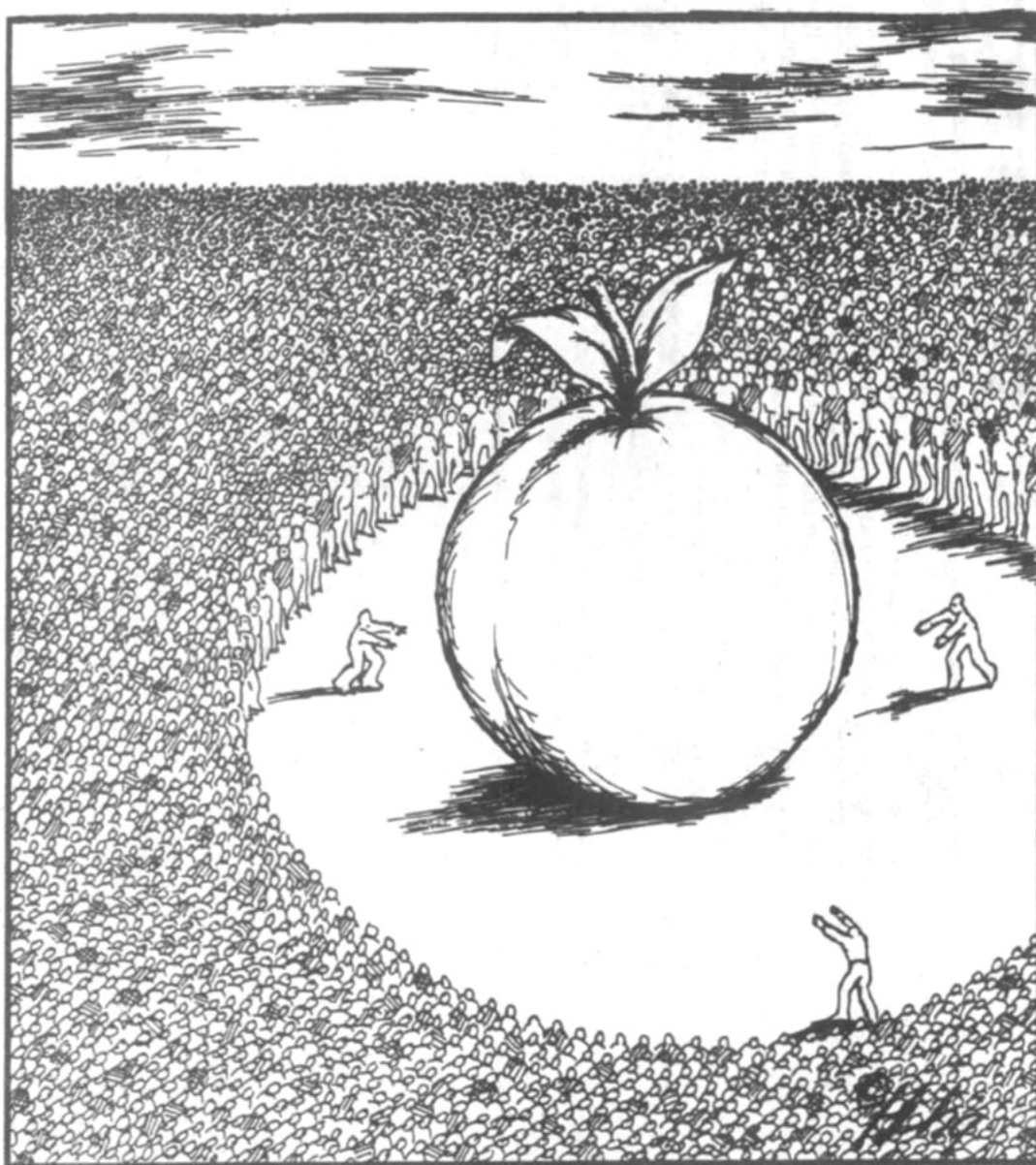


NUMBER 244

# The Progressive Review

& DC GAZETTE

DECEMBER 1984





#### FACTS ON FILE

Writing in Mother Jones magazine, investigative reporter Alec Dubro estimates that the average American is in as many as 65 different data bases: 18 federal, 16 state, 6 local and 25 private. Information in these computers can affect one's job, housing, and public benefit status, says Dubro. Even though the Federal Privacy Act of 1974 forbids access to certain data bases, much of the information is available for a price. As a private investigator told Mother Jones, "Computers, by centralizing information, make an investigator's job easier. Now you only have to know one corrupt person instead of many."

#### STATUS QUO FOR MINORITIES IN HOUSE

The election did little to change the demographics of the House of Representatives. All 19 black representatives won reelection, but one lost a primary race so there will be one fewer black in the House. There will be one additional Hispanic member, bringing the total of Hispanics to ten.

#### JAILS SET NEW RECORD

The local jail population of the US was up 43% in 1983 over 1978. A record 224,000 people were incarcerated, about half of them without having been convicted. The report comes from the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics.

#### MORE VOTERS CALL THEMSELVES REPUBLICAN

A recent Harris poll found that the percentage of voters viewing themselves as Republicans had risen from 26% to 34% in the past year. The percentage of Democrats went from 41% to 42% while the number of independents declined from 28% to 20%. More than half of the Republicans live in the suburbs.

#### HEALTH CARE FOR ELDERLY TAKING A BIGGER CHUNK

A report from the House Committee on Aging says that elderly people are paying 14% of their income for health care -- up two percentage points from 1980. Said the committee: "The analysis illustrates the impact of the policy decisions of the past years."

#### POWERS BEHIND THE PROGRESSIVE SCENE

New Options newsletter reports that a survey of 95 disarmament, peace and anti-nuclear organizations found that these groups got 31% of their 1982 fund from private foundations. Individual donors -- outside of regular memberships -- contributed another 25%. Only 38% percent of the funds came from memberships, publications, projects etc. Says New Options editor Mark Satin, "It's a touchy subject in the movement." Satin points out that foundations have a bias "against healing, holistic, decentralist approaches to social change." One activist said, "The foundations respond really well to proposals for projects that are against things. But it's almost impossible to get funding for projects where there isn't a visible enemy." A director of a innovative new foundation said, "Grants aren't given in a way that could help groups become self-reliant. Sometimes I think foundations unconsciously give money to be loved, and needed, and depended upon."

#### PRIVATE GROUPS CAN'T KEEP UP WITH CUTBACKS

Despite an increase of 20% in the emergency food aid provided by private organizations in the past year, these groups say they are unable to meet the demand. The Food Research and Action Center surveyed the organizations and found a majority of them saying that the need was outstripping their capabilities.

#### BLACKS IN MED SCHOOL DROPPING

The Educational Testing Service reports that the number of blacks in medical schools has dropped since the Bakke decision in 1978. The Supreme Court outlawed affirmative action quotas in that case, but said race was a factor that could be considered in admissions. According to the study, in 1974-75, blacks had a 42% chance of getting into medical school. In 1982-83, blacks had a 39% chance. In 1974-75 blacks made up 6.7% of the med schools' first year class; in 1982-83 the figure was 5.9%.

#### JUDGES THROWS OUT SUIT AGAINST MINNESOTA PIRG

An important suit against the Minnesota PIRG and the University of Minnesota has been dismissed by a federal district judge. The suit, filed by a conservative legal foundation, challenged the collection of voluntary fees for the PIRG through the university's billing system.

#### ENERGY OVERCHARGES CONTINUE

We have reported before the curious practice of American utilities charging American consumers more for taxes than they actually pay. This is accomplished by passing on to ratepayers the cost of taxes that assume the utilities will have no deductions while paying the feds only what they owe after deductions. The overcharge was \$5.1 billion in 1982, up a billion from a year earlier. This on a 1982 true tax bill of only \$2 billion. Tom Harkin, the newly elected senator from Iowa, introduced legislation while he was in the House that would curb the practice of phantom taxes. The irrepressible utilities have suggested that in the event such an curb is approved, they'll just have to raise rates.

#### TURNOUT DIDN'T HELP DEMS

The conventional wisdom used to be that a large turnout helped the Democratic Party. Not this year. Walter Mondale, despite his wipe-out, actually received over a million votes more than Jimmy Carter did in 1980. What happened can be seen by looking at a few states. In Florida, for example, Mondale got only 22,000 votes less than

Carter did in 1980 but Reagan got 500,000 votes more. In New York, Mondale got 300,000 more votes than Carter, but Reagan got 560,000 more than in 1980.

#### HOW THE PACS FARED

USA Today tallied up the win-loss percentage of major PACS and only one PAC pressing a progressive cause made the top ten list. Handgun Control Inc. batted .935 with the candidates it backed for the House and Senate. The National Rifle Association hit .953 for second place behind the Associated Milk Producers. The National Right to Life Committee was in third place with .941 while the National Abortion Rights Action League was in 14th place with a .704 average.

#### LIBERAL MEDIA?

Something must have gone awry in the liberal media the Reagan administration has been berating. Editor & Publisher magazine found that 58% of the nation's dailies endorse Reagan while only 9% endorsed Mondale.

(Please turn to page 21)

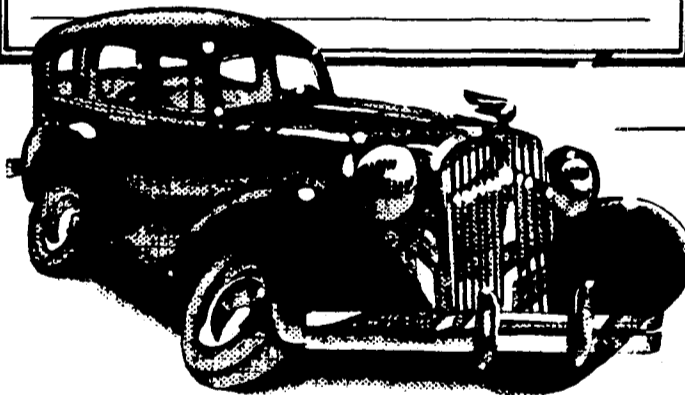
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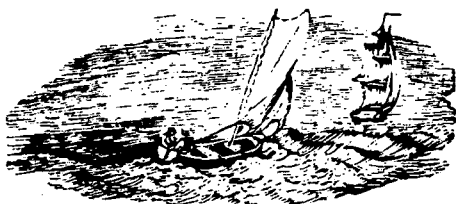
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# TOPICS

Sam Smith



## Hunting the mandate

As expected, early November brought increased sightings of that migratory bird, the North American quadrennial mandate. The first reports occurred on election night and produced interviews with mandate experts on the validity of the observations. These experts seemed equally split pro and con on the matter; in some cases the same expert seemed similarly split.

With elections now totally predictable from the moment a qualified sample leaves the polls, mandate sightings have become even more important news than they were in the past. The networks, with their prescience and gadgetry, have managed to make what once was one of the year's most interesting evenings into yet another form of video tedium. With the drama removed from the results, we are left with dismal hours of mastication over what it all means.

One of the networks, it should be noted, did show unusual creativity in attempting to revive the Cuban missile crisis with the aid of some sightings of the Soviet MIG carrier pigeon enroute to Nicaragua. But these proved even more ephemeral than the reports of the mandate.

In fact, the mandate is often sighted, but seldom captured. It is in much the same class as the reliable sourcehawk, the informed believing observer and that bird seen most frequently in Washington, the official mood. The official mood in Washington is spotted most often by New York Times op-editorialists, but other journalists have claimed to have seen it as well.

Unfortunately, there are few substantiations of these observations from those outside the journalistic and political trades and some scientists believe they are, like flying saucers, simply the products of overly fertile imaginations or the misidentification of otherwise explicable phenomena.

Television personnel are particularly susceptible to such imaginings. If a president announces that there should be a dialogue on a certain subject, tv newsrooms all over the country dispatch mini-cammed reporters to find said dialogue as though it could be trapped, skinned and mounted on the White House wall. This confusion about images and realities is not surprising given the nature of the medium, but it is a bit unnerving to see the faith that some reporters have that vague and often meaningless phrases can somehow be given form and substance.

Even such sober-minded publications as the Washington Post got caught up in the search, headlining two days after the election, "Democrats Challenge President's Landslide as Mandate."

The problem with correctly identifying a mandate is pointed up by the fact that this year, after the election, Tip O'Neill said, "There is no mandate out there." On the other hand, after Kennedy won by the narrowest of margins against Nixon, Theodore Sorensen wrote later: "The fact remains that he won and on the day after the election, and every day thereafter, he rejected the argument that the country had given him no mandate. \*\*\*

The margin is narrow, but the responsibility is clear. There may be difficulties in Congress, but a margin of only one vote would still be a mandate."

My own feeling is that mandate is as mandate do. You can't really tell whether you have a mandate until after the fighting is over, at which point the mandatees are more likely to emphasize their triumphs over massive opposition than to credit the people with having pulled them through with a mandate.

## Starwars politics

It is also worth noting that if one voter out of ten had changed their mind, Walter Mondale would have been president with the mandate on the other foot, or in the other mouth, or wherever you put a mandate. Despite all the talk about landslides and massive victories, most elections in this country are not for the hearts and minds of the American people but for these organs in less than ten percent of the American people. The concept of the sweep or landslide is useful for ratings and circulation but it happens rarely in American politics and when it does, it is almost always so inevitable that nobody pays much attention. American politics does not favor the production of landslides, if for no other reason than that the candidate selection system tends to winnow out those who might lose by a landslide.

Which is not to say that Reagan's victory is not troublesome. It is very much so, but in attempting to recover from it, there is at least some comfort in realizing that you only have to convince one in ten people they were wrong to change things around.

## Progressive Review

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EDITOR: Sam Smith  
CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Chuck Stone, Eugene McCarthy, Des Wilson  
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

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There are some substantive things the Democrats can do to begin to cause this to happen, but at the same time I fear some effort must be devoted to the unpleasant subject of image.

It would appear that no small part of Reagan's appeal came not from agreement with him on issues but from the sense that he played the part of president extremely well. While one can easily bemoan the fatuousness of this approach to politics, one can not ignore it nor realistically hope that it will go away.

Until recently, most presidents arrived at their status in one of two ways. Either they were genuine national heroes or they were genuine products of the political system. It was not Ronald Reagan, but the sainted John F. Kennedy who changed all that. He was the first feely president — the first elected because he looked, talked and felt like a president rather than because of anything he had actually done in either politics or national life. There are some remarkable parallels between Kennedy's victory over Humphrey and Reagan's victory over Mondale and they should make Democrats a little more reticent in their complaints about showmanship in the White House.

Eisenhower was the last national hero elected to the White House and Nixon the last traditional political product (Ford was a special case.) It may be that we will not see many more such presidents, because since Kennedy the nation has become even more enthralled with the star approach to everything. We now have packaged chicken stars, Big Three automotive stars, even economist stars. And, of course, we have the political stars. If our schools and colleges were smart, they'd start teaching charisma — because there is less and less one can achieve in American society today without simultaneously looking good on the Phil Donahue Show.

You can't even fight the system without being a star.

Has any society ever produced such an appealing, charismatic group of dissidents as Jesse Jackson, Gloria Steinem and Ralph Nader? Imagine Karl Marx trying to push his theories today. He'd be lucky to win a slot on a public broadcasting talk show.

This, I would suggest, is a major reason Walter Mondale lost. He lacked star quality. He might not have even made it to the convention had not the would-be star of the primary season, Gary Hart, flunked his screen test.

The dilemma this presents is awesome. One can continue to decry such a shift in values and support candidates on political merit alone or one can accept the world of images, charisma and screen-testing and do battle on this basis. The former course is honorable but potentially futile; the latter horrible but more likely to produce victories.

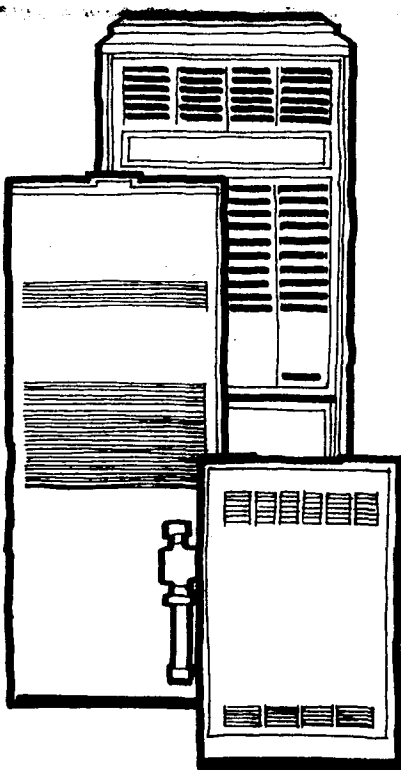
I offer no solution to this dilemma other than some serious discussion of the matter. As things stand now, there's seems to be little preventing Robert Redford from entering the 1988 Democratic primaries and taking it to the top.

## Good news

On the other hand, out of the national limelight the Democrats did rather well. In the face of Reagan's popularity, they won two seats in the Senate, lost only 15 in the House and two governorships and won 58% of all contested legislative seats. Further, as Republican governor Pierre du Pont pointed out after the election, the long-term trend at the statehouse level has been in the Democrats' favor. In 1956, Democrats controlled both chambers in 19 states; now they control 31. And, at the congressional level, with the exception of the GOP

(Please turn to page 16)

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# WHY STUDENTS MOVED RIGHT

Mary Ellen Leary

Mary Ellen Leary is an associate editor of Pacific News Service and a correspondent for the Economist.

A fascinating spate of explanations has followed news that young people favor President Reagan far more than the population as a whole.

Many social scientists speak with irony of the astonishing value change represented by this support for a man over 70 from an age group which not long ago vowed never to trust anyone over 30.

But the shift goes beyond that. Some 60 percent of entering college freshmen across the nation now say they are politically "middle of the road"—a description only 45 percent chose 15 years ago.

The move seems to have come from those who once claimed to be "liberal"—now only 20 percent, compared to 40 percent in 1971, while those choosing the "conservative" label have stayed at a relatively constant 20 percent.

Some say this moderation of student liberalism, the preference for Ronald Reagan, is the product of "hero worship." Others think the young see Reagan as a reassuring father figure. Yet others claim his emphasis on materialism and self-interest is the drawing card.

And at least one expert says the real factor is that students are easily swayed. Prof. Raymond Wolfinger, a political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley, says young, new voters are "vulnerable to the popular impulse of the moment" because they have no political anchors. He suggests the Reaganism sweeping the country is their new enthusiasm.

Many politicians, however, favor the "hero worship" explanation, including many Democratic party officials who talk a great deal about "the leader" image. This is especially true among those who favored Gary Hart as a candidate.

One Democrat who has no trouble with the concept is California assemblyman Gray Davis, once Gov. Jerry Brown's chief of staff. He says Democrats "need to provide exciting alternatives to Republicans. We need heroes. A whole generation of young people have gone through high school and entered college with no other symbol of political success before them but Reagan."

A quite different theory is advanced by Dr. Alexander Astin, a UCLA psychologist who directs a research program which surveys 300,000 incoming freshmen at 500 colleges and universities annually. Astin notes that television had become nearly univer-

sal by the time today's 18-20 year olds were in kindergarten. And so, more than any previous student group, they have been subject to the values promoted by television, values he defines as "wall to wall materialism, focused on owning possessions, on money success."

Astin's latest findings show a "tremendous increase" in the number of students who say their primary goal is "to be very well off financially." Last year, some 69.3 percent put that as their first priority, compared to 43.5 percent in 1967.

Conversely, 82.9 percent said developing a "meaningful philosophy of life" was a first priority in 1967, compared to 44.1 percent today.

"This trend was well established before Reagan became president, and politics may be less a factor in it than general social conditions," Astin says. "But it is clear that today's students are more materialistic, more interested in money and less interested in serving their fellow human beings."

Reagan's campaign rhetoric, he notes, "speaks to materialistic interests" which coincides with these priorities.

The "father image" concept is stressed by Mary Regan, professor of applied behavioral research at UC Davis, who says "Today's young student trusts authority and accepts it."

Moreover, she finds that "Republican political goals have specific relation to a person's aspirations for his own good life while Democratic goals tend not to be tangible" and to "lack identification with self."

Regan's conclusions are drawn from a survey which has followed some 1600 students since they entered college in 1970. She has also watched their successors to measure changing attitudes.

"These young people are not risk-takers. They want to stay within the conventional system," she says. "Reagan embodies success and that kind of traditional conformity."

"Young people now cling to establishment structures and to conventional ways of thinking," she notes. "Individually, these are wonderful kinds today, responsible in their work, pleasant to be with. But it is a very complex world out there, and they want a structured, reliable, safe approach to life."

Unfortunately, most studies of youthful attitudes focus on students—far less is known about the hopes,

goals, and political preferences of the young who don't go to college.

Rev. Jesse Jackson gave many their first link to the political system and has exhorted them to register and vote Democratic. And the Democrats have tried to reach students—and succeeded, even at schools widely characterized as conservative.

Freshman are often diametrically opposed to the president—most approve legalized abortions, 92 percent favor equal pay for equal work, 80 percent want more government environmental protection, and only some 36 percent favor expanding military spending.

Perhaps findings like these explain Dr. Austin Frank's impatience with those who find this generation too materialistic. "We still have many students with serious social concerns, and altruistic motivations," says Frank, director of research on students at UC Berkeley. "But the game in town is to be secure in a world telling you your college education is no guarantee of a job."

Berkeley's undergraduate chancellor, Dr. Watson Laetsch, agrees. It is this "new uncertainty," he says, which drives students to focus on financial priorities.

Yet he concedes students are more conservative even closest to home. "Student government leaders used to give major attention to world affairs. Today, they are concerned about campus needs."

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New York Governor Mario Cuomo, MS. Magazine co-founder Gloria Steinem, and Dr. Jonas Salk, developer of the polio vaccine, will be among the featured speakers at the Children's Defense Fund's 1985 national strategy conference.

ADOLESCENT AND SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES: AN ACTION AGENDA FOR THE 1980s will be held from February 27-March 1, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Washington, D.C.

The three-day meeting will focus on the prevention of adolescent pregnancy and the growing poverty of single-parent families. More than 700 participants from across the country are expected to attend.

To receive a conference registration packet write Eve Wilkins, Children's Defense Fund, 122 C NW, DC 20001 (800-424-9602 or 202-628-8787).

# WATCHING THE YOUNG GOP

**Pamela Douglas**

*Pamela Douglas is a screen writer and a journalist whose work has appeared in numerous publications including Black Enterprise and Essence. She teaches writing at the University of Southern California.*

LOS ANGELES—He took the trouble to hold the door for me—his clear blue eyes gazing nowhere in particular with a childlike openness, his blondest of blond hair perfectly in place, his clean white tennis shorts unblemished and topped by a shirt sporting the “correct” emblem. At 19, he was too old to be a Boy Scout, but the comparison flitted past as I searched for where I’d seen his type before.

Certainly he was unlike the students I’d gone to college with—rough, questioning characters, wanting to reshape the country to fit an egalitarian ideal, or at least doubting whether everything authority told us was really true. No, he was something new, an odd fit with his professors in beards and jeans, struggling with conflicting theories.

Watching him rejoin his companions—all holding small American flags, all with great round red-white-and-blue buttons on their chests proclaiming “Reagan Bush in 84”—I noticed a student who’d been in my class last term. Something was different about him, and it took a moment before I realized he’d had brown hair then. Now he’d bleached it blond to match the other campus Republicans around him.

Hitler Youth, I thought, that’s the type, the Aryan image reasserting itself.

But that’s unfair. I sensed no menace in these boys. In fact, if they shared a mood, it could be called satisfaction, an “all’s right with the world” ease of healthy upper middle class kids who can work for their dads or uncles when they graduate with technology or business degrees.

The only enemy they see—apart from something vaguely labelled “Democrats”—is something even more faceless, an undefined lump called “the Russians.”

Last year, when the bleached blond still had brown hair, he wrote a story in my class that centered on the troubled relationship of a boy to his father, a powerful corporate executive too self-involved to pay attention to his son until the boy attempted suicide. This made the father recognize the error of his ways and discover he could love the boy after all, even if it cost him time from his work.

Looking at the student now, it occurred to me that he’d found an easier way to get his Dad’s approval.

Because these young people look and act so alike, some analysts have ventured that their pro-Reagan rallies have been orchestrated from some headquarters.

But I doubt that, at least for the kids on the campus where I teach. Rather, the “headquarters” they’re responding to may be at home, in the beliefs of their parents.

Asked for an opinion on social programs—any social program—one answered simply, “Why should I give anyone any of my money?” None of the students around him blinked.

In September, when Walter Mondale spoke on campus, he was heckled so loudly by these students and their friends that he could not be heard. Now, asked if they feel they did the right thing, one responded, “He should have known this is a Republi-

can campus before he came here. He shouldn’t go where nobody likes him.”

Again, the statement was made as a fact, the student’s face uncomplicated by doubt.

This day, they were preparing for a different kind of rally. Vice-Presidential candidate George Bush would soon appear. Gathering their placards and flags, they stood in front of the steps leading to the library, where they watched cheerleaders and sang along with the country tune “I’m A Hot Dog Man.” A huge American flag draped the entrance as entertainers Pat Boone and Charleton Heston warmed up the already cheering crowd.

(Please turn to page 17)

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Although I enjoy staying up late at night and sleeping until 1 p.m., I want to go back to work. My qualifications include an M.A. in sociology from New York University. I type 65 wpm and would enjoy a word processing job.

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**BUSY COUNCIL:** The city council wound up the year dealing with over 60 pieces of legislation at one session. Far and away the most significant of these was the land use component of the comprehensive plan, which has been severely criticized by neighborhood and planning groups (See last issue). As the Review was going to press, the council gave preliminary approval to the plan.

Even though this action could be the most important thing the council has done in several years, the Washington Post buried the story in the jump of a front page piece about the council overriding the mayor's veto of legislation increasing the authority and independence of the people's counsel before the public service commission. While this latter bill is important, and the fact that the council stood up to the mayor significant, there is simply no comparison between the two pieces of legislation. Readers are invited to speculate over what caused this curious sense of priorities on 15th Street. It is not, in any case, new. The coverage of the comprehensive plan by the Post has been about as bad as the plan itself.

Meanwhile, extensive coverage has been given the cable television story, far more than evidence would suggest is warranted. The real story may well be that DC has gone into cable television just when the medium is on its way out. Technological changes are moving towards direct home to satellite linkage which could make the cable approach as obsolete as a hand-cranked car.

Furthermore, everyone seems to be blithely ignoring the fact that in other cities, cable tv firms have simply not lived up to their promises to the host city. It is not clear why we should expect DC to be any different.

Which is not to say that uses will not be found for cable. Some day you may be able to use the system to turn your oven off while you're at work or for the police to know when someone's broken into your house or to do banking transactions by computer. But the future of cable as a convention information and entertainment system seems far more limited than many people in this town are assuming.

The council did do some good work, passing an auto lemon bill and setting up an office of bicycle transportation and safety. This latter measure is yet another effort to get the city administration off its butt on bike transportation. Back in Fiscal Year 1982, the city council appropriated \$465,000 for a 75 mile bike network. As of this fall, only about \$67,000 had been spent.

**RENT CONTROL:** The current rent control bill expires in April. Both opponents and supporters of this legislation are gearing up for a massive fight. The Housing Action Council is meeting every Wednesday at the Harrison Institute to help organize tenants to support extension of the legislation. The Gray Panthers (347-9541) are also looking for people interested in lobbying on its behalf.

One of the problems with the rent control bill is that it does expire. Each time it comes up before the

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council, it runs the risk of being gutted. But this doesn't have to happen. It could be made a permanent fixture of the DC Code, either by council action (unlikely) or by initiative. It might not be a bad idea for rent control supporters to gather signatures for an initiative to that effect. At the least, it would put more pressure on the city council not to give in.

(Please turn to page 19)

## REPORT CARD

Here's our monthly scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point plus or minus for a public position taken without doing anything or for a bill introduced. Previously, we had given three points for especially important bills, but we are upping that to four to better reflect the relative importance of different pieces of legislation. Any corrections can be phoned to the Review (232-5544) and we will publish them in the next issue.

**CITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN:** Frank Smith deserves two points for supporting Jo Butler in the city council campaign. The other Democrats on the council who supported either Jerry Moore or Carol Schwartz got their points taken off last month.

**CHRISTMAS TREE SESSION:** Trying to avoid the Christmas rush, the council passed dealt early this month with over 60 pieces of legislation at one session. The council went along with most of these en masse. The worst bill was the land use component of the comprehensive plan which will curse the city for years to come. Everyone loses four points for that one. On the other hand, everyone (except Jerry Moore) gets two points for overriding the mayor's veto of a bill designed to give the people's counsel more power before the public service commission, two points for passing a lemon law for automobile purchasers and two points for establishing an office of bicycle transportation and safety.

**DRUG FACILITY:** John Ray gets a point for his bill that establishes the right of all residents who are dependent on drugs (including alcohol) to have treatment for the dependency and to establish a facility to provide treatment regardless of a patient's ability to pay.

**SCHOOL CROSSING GUARDS:** Since September, school crossing guards have had to pay to ride on buses due to a change in Metro policy. David Clarke gets a point for convincing the Office of the Budget to make funds available for flash passes for the guards. The funds will come out of the police department budget.

**DC JAIL:** Marion Barry loses four points for his continued failure to take effective action to reduce overcrowding at the DC Jail.

NAME	SCORE	GRADE
Mason	15	B
Wilson	8	B
Kane	6	C
Clarke	-4	C
Winter	-6	C
Rolark	-6	C
Smith	-6	C
COUNCIL AVERAGE		
Shackleton	-10	D
Ray	-12	D
Moore	-15	D
Crawford	-20	D
Spaulding	-20	D
Jarvis	-25	F
Barry	-30	F

# CHARLES MCDOWELL

## The way it used to be

WASHINGTON — The campaign of 1984 is over, and some of us have taken vacations to recover from the trauma induced by the red, white and blue balloon-politics of the Republicans, the bleak old politics of the Democrats, the money, the polls, the television ads, the rhetoric and all the rest of the hokum.

And now that it's over, we still have the issues to face. Indeed, we had to wait for the voting before we could even begin to discuss the issues in a realistic way.

It was not ever thus. Thanks to Dr. Lockhart B. McGuire of Charlottesville, I have at hand an article about a congressional campaign in Virginia in 1841. The author (in *The Youth's Companion*, July, 1884) was Dr. McGuire's great-great-grandfather, A.H.H. Stuart of Staunton.

Stuart was a Whig candidate for the House of Representatives in 1841, and his Democratic opponent was one

James McDowell, who lived near Staunton on the way to Lexington.

The district, as Stuart wrote, "embraced eight counties and was about 160 miles long, extending into the mountainous regions of the state. We visited every county, traveling together on horseback over bad roads, through rain, sleet and snow, meeting the people at the court-houses and other public places, and discussing at great length all the great questions of finance, currency, tariff, distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, and internal improvements by the federal government, which then divided the country."

The issues are familiar and the divisions still exist. But here were Stuart and his opponent traveling together on horseback, seeking out the voters and discussing the issues in front of them.

Stuart's article indicates the debates were fairly thorough: "A discus-

sion generally occupied six or seven hours, and was conducted with the courtesy which should always distinguish intercourse between gentlemen."

During the whole campaign, he wrote, neither candidate said anything unpleasant about the other. "We may be said to have been friends by inheritance" — their grandfathers served together in the Augusta Regiment in the Revolutionary War, their fathers were friends for half a century, and the two candidates were becoming lifelong friends.

"Our close association and sharp competition in debate, so far from tending to impair our kind relations, increased our mutual respect and esteem. . . ."

A note on election procedure: There was no secret ballot in 1841, in fact no ballot.

"The officers and clerks who had been appointed . . . assembled at sunrise at their respective precincts; and as voters presented themselves, an officer announced, in an audible voice, the name of the person proposing to vote, which was written down by the clerk. . . ."

"After this had been done, the officer asked the question, 'Whom do you vote for?' The voter answered, in an audible tone, and his vote was registered. . . . This mode of conducting elections left no door open for fraud. The voter was known to the officers

(Please turn to page 17)

# CHUCK STONE

## Black fathers

*To become a father is not hard.*

*To be a father is, however.* Wilhelm Busch

**B**lack men, like all other men, easily become fathers.

Unless statistics lie, black men don't act like fathers.

Fifty-two percent of all black families are headed up by women.

In itself, the statistic is not a pathology.

It's an indictment.

Not only of black men, but of a racist white society and its perpetrators.

White racism, however, doesn't justify black men abandoning their families.

Nor does white racism excuse black men absenting themselves from the responsibility for raising the children they father.

I speak from a painful experience.

My father, a brilliant college graduate, deserted his family when I was 10 years old.

I never saw him again until I was a freshman in college.

He returned home and spent the rest of his life trying to make amends to my mother, three sisters and me.

We never stopped loving him — a quality of grace my mother had instilled in us. We just missed him and wished he could have been there when we needed him in our early years.

In Columbus, Ohio, 31 black kids in their early years enjoy the exhilaration of one father's love.

They do more than share one father. All 31 are either physically handicapped or emotionally disturbed.

Their father, Kojo Odo, has another term for their afflictions.

"I call them physical and intellectual challenges,

"I am a black man.

"I have a responsibility to my community and to my people.

"These children are mine.

"Ever since I adopted them, I've enjoyed doing it."

He chuckled over the telephone. "And I found I'm good at it."

For the last 12 years, Odo, 44, has been both father and mother to his 31 adopted children.

Three months ago, he moved from New York City, where he had been an adoption resource specialist at Columbia University.

"Reaganomics took my job," he said in his soft, measured way of speaking. No rancor, just a statement of fact.

"The program, which had been federally funded, was discontinued."

Not one to surrender to despair after having held his burgeoning family together so long, Odo picked up and moved to Columbus, Ohio,

where he is now special administrator for adoption programs in the state's Department of Human Services.

Right now, his biggest problem is trying to find suitable housing for the 27 children who are still living with him.

"We're living in a house with eight bedrooms. For the last three months, I've been looking for a larger house."

Odo has solved temporarily the logistics of sleeping arrangements.

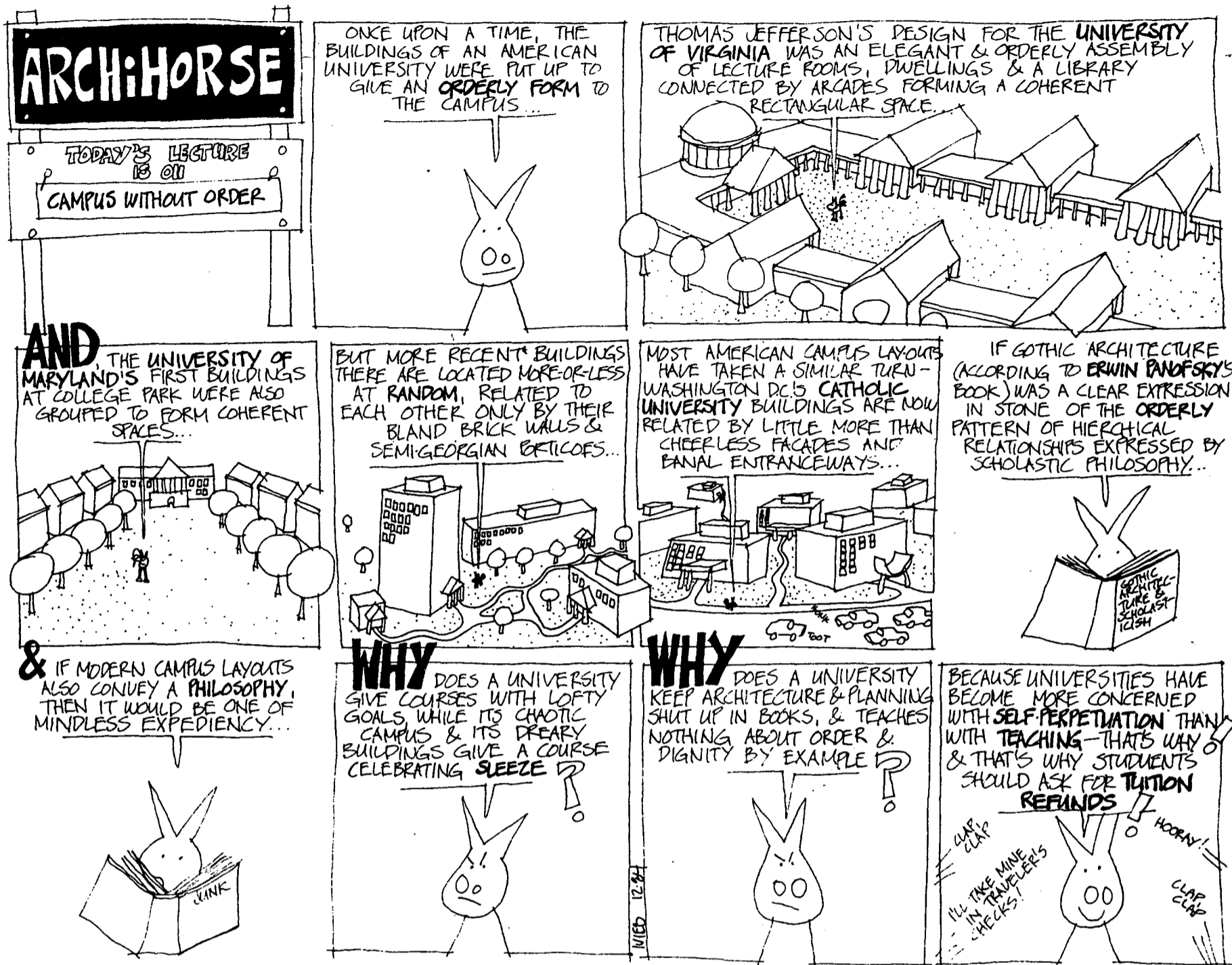
"We have bunk beds. I have six daughters and 21 sons.

"We function as a family. All of them are in school. Some go by bus, others walk."

The only lines Odo draws for his global paternityship are hardship, not racial or religious.

"I only accept children the agency

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# LONDON LETTER

Des Wilson

Ever since Watergate, journalists and opposition politicians alike have dreamed of a similar coup in Britain: that is to say, exclusive revelations of dishonesty by the Prime Minister leading to her downfall, awards and riches to the journalists concerned, and the opportunity of advancement for political rivals.

For some time now it has looked as if the *Belgrano* incident could be the answer to their prayers.

Briefly, the *Belgrano* was the Argentine warship sunk by the British during the Falklands War while it was actually steaming away from the British task force and the islands themselves. The allegation is that the Prime Minister and other Ministers have consistently misled the House of Commons, and therefore the nation, by initially indicating that the *Belgrano* was sailing towards the task force, and subsequently producing further deceptions calculated to hide the fact that the ship was sunk in order to jettison a Peruvian peace proposal. (The claim by the Woodstein of the affair, Labour MP Tam Dalyell, was that the Prime Minister stood to benefit politically from the war, and had no wish to see it end other than with a full-scale British victory.)

One fundamental difference between the *Belgrano* affair and that of Watergate, is that the President stood to be discredited by the initial offence (the break-in) as well as his subsequent attempts to lie his way out of allegations that he was involved, whereas in the *Belgrano* affair, it has become clear that the Prime Minister has had little need to defend the action itself. An overwhelming majority of people, including most

journalists and politicians, believe the sinking of the *Belgrano* was fully justified in wartime and in wars leaders have to make such judgements. The scuttling of the peace plan theory has few supporters.

Thus it is that when the Ministry of Defence found itself under attack for its the constantly-changing versions of the affair, a senior civil servant, Clive Ponting, took the view that there was no need for anyone to be on the defensive, and the best policy was to tell exactly what happened. Had his advice been taken, the Prime Minister would probably have heard the last of the affair, for one of the key factors to emerge over recent weeks is that the information that the *Belgrano* was steaming away and not towards the task force was not available to the War Cabinet at the time it took the decision to proceed with the sinking.

Ponting wrote a paper for the Ministry of Defence intended to make public, either to Tam Dalyell, or to a House of Commons select committee, exactly what happened.

Unfortunately, Ponting's hopes that the ministry would come clean foundered on the rocks of inherent Whitehall secretiveness and the cynicism of the particular Ministers at the DOE, Messrs Michael Heseltine and John Stanley. Documents calculated to mislead the select committee were circulated within the ministry and the Ponting proposal was given short shrift.

Ponting, a rising star in Whitehall, who had recently been honoured by the Prime Minister herself for

his services to the nation, and who had recently been promoted to the position of departmental head, was so appalled that he leaked the internal memos to Mr. Dalyell. The result is that Mr. Ponting will shortly appear in No. 1 Court of the Old Bailey, the nation's central criminal court, to face two charges under Section Two of the Official Secrets Act. For his offence of making a stand for integrity and truth within the British civil service, he could be imprisoned.

I will leave readers to decide for themselves what this story says about the quality of integrity in British public life.

However, a few more facts about Section Two: The Official Secrets Act, passed in 1911, has two sections. The first is concerned with spying, and the second with leaks of all other information. Under it any civil servant can find himself in the dock of the Old Bailey for release of any information at all. Lord Franks, former British Ambassador to Washington, in a 1972 report on the act, said of Section Two that "It catches all official documents and information. It makes no distinction of kind, and no distinctions of degree. All information which a Crown servant learns in the course of his duty is 'official' for the purposes of Section Two, whatever its nature, whatever its importance, whatever its original source. A blanket is thrown over everything: nothing escapes."

Section Two is used to cover up waste and efficiency, to obscure the sources of decision-making, to disguise injustice, and to strengthen the position of those in power. It is, however, under heavy attack and I myself am involved in a major campaign to have it overturned, and replaced by freedom of information legislation.

I advise *Progressive Review* readers to look at the small print of your newspapers in late January/early February for reports of the Ponting case. At the very least, it will prove extremely embarrassing for

(Please turn to page 17)

# OUR BOOKSHELF

**SELF-RELIANT CITIES:** An important book by David Morris, director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. A look at how energy has transformed the American city, from self-sufficient frontier villages based on human and animal power, to industrial towns built by hydro and steam, to our present far-flung and energy-dependent metropolises, products of automobiles and the cheap transmission of electricity. Morris explains how soaring energy costs have forced cities to redefine themselves as nations, linking production and consumption more closely to retain capital in the local community. Self-Reliant Cities describes dozens of cities that are already using their municipal authority to finance and regulate decentralized, renewable energy systems. \$8.95

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## Flotsam & Jetsam

A BOOK LENGTH collection of essays by editor Sam Smith culled from 15 years of the DC Gazette (and a few other places). Topics cover a wide field including, trains, England, music, home computers, football, the humanities, pumping iron, Benjamin Franklin, corruption, ghostwriters, on turn-forty, Martin Luther King and words and meaning. If you have enjoyed the Gazette, we believe you will find this collection appealing, not to mention your friends who may never have become acquainted but might be interested. Only \$2.00.

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HUGH JOHNSON'S POCKET ENYCLOPEDIA OF WINE. This guide, which you can peruse discreetly in the liquor store, list the wines of 18 countries complete with data on taste and vintage plus a rating. Also included is a quick reference chart for wines from France and Germany. ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.95~~

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NICOLAS NICKLEBY by Charles Dickens: ~~\$4.50~~ ~~\$3.50~~ ~~\$2.50~~

DC MAGAZINES: A LITERARY RETROSPECTIVE. This work contains an anthology of pieces from three of Washington's most important literary magazines: Portfolio, Voyages and Dryad. Editor Richard Peabody has also included a listing of literary magazines published here from the 18th century on and a list of alternative newspapers and arts magazines published since the sixties. Was \$7.95, now only ~~\$6.00~~ ~~\$5.00~~ ~~\$4.00~~ ~~\$3.00~~ ~~\$2.00~~

THE PORTABLE HAWTHORNE: 'The Scarlet Letter' complete; selections from 'The House of Seven Gables,' 'The Blitheside Romance,' 'The Marble Faun,' and thirteen tales. Also selections from notebooks and letters. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$4.95~~

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THE ESSENTIAL EARTHMAN: Henry Mitchell on Gardening. This is not just another book on gardening but the thoughts of an enthusiast who comes to the subject with reverence, passion, humor and a sober knowledge of human frailty. The Essential Earthman believes, for example, "a lawn 17 by 20 feet is just fine, if you think a lawnless life is not worth living \*\*\* But I suspect many gardeners would do well to think of something besides grass and the little noisy juggernauts you cut with." This is a collection of many of Mitchell's most popular pieces from the Washington Post. ~~\$12.95~~ ~~\$11.95~~ ~~\$10.95~~

THE NEWYORK TIMES BOOK OF HOUSE PLANTS. The classic guide to house plants. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$4.95~~

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COUNTRY NEW ENGLAND INNS: This is a 1982-1983 edition not-to be confused with a similar book listed in our sale catalog. This one is much more complete and includes maps and rates and illustrations. ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.95~~

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE. Dee Brown's eloquent account of the systematic destruction of the American Indian during the second half of the nineteenth century. "A painful, shocking book." — Book World. ~~\$2.95~~ ~~\$2.00~~ ~~\$1.00~~

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CHARLES DICKENS: DAVID COPPERFIELD: ~~\$2.50~~ ~~\$2.00~~ ~~\$1.50~~

# READING MATTER

Reviewed by Chris Robinson  
RECON NETWORK

**Bitter Fog: Herbicides and Human Rights** by Carol Van Strum, Sierra Club Books, 1983, 288 pages. Van Strum's introduction to herbicides was personal—her four children were accidentally sprayed by a road crew and became sick—but her interest didn't remain personal. She has written an involving account of the herbicide problem and the people affected, including Vietnam veterans, Oregon farm families, and the many citizens who organized to fight back and who have won several nationally important victories you may not have heard about. Send \$14.95 to 2034 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA 94115.

**First Strike! The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War** by Robert C. Aldridge, South End Press, 1983, 325 pages. If you know anyone who still believes that U.S. nuclear weapons are needed for deterrence to stop the Russians, this is the book for them. The author has compiled all of the evidence needed to prove that the Pentagon plans to strike first. Modernization of missiles and bombers, space weapons, anti-submarine improvements, cruise missiles, communication centers, and even anti-missile weapons have all been designed for one purpose: a nuclear sneak attack against Russia. Send \$9.50 to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

**Toward a Nuclear Free Future**, Mobilization for Survival, 1984, 44 pages. In explaining how to build a campaign for a nuclear free zone, this guide is most useful for uniting those who are already organized. The emphasis is on approaching local groups: community, religious, environmental, labor and political. It is a handbook for forming coalitions around a particular issue and should be read by those who want to learn successful methods used by people who have already built more than 50 nuclear free zones. Send \$5.00/copy to 853 Broadway, #2109, New York, NY 10003.

**Arms Race and Arms Control 1984**, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1984, 208 pages. SIPRI's third, short report on the world's military is as useful as ever. With rearmament speeding ahead and virtually no progress anywhere in arms control, SIPRI calls the prospects "somber." From the nuclear arms race to the international trade in conventional weapons, the authors give more than enough proof for this evaluation. Send \$10.00/copy to Taylor & Francis, 242 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106.

**Witness to War: An American Doctor in El Salvador** by Charles Clements, Bantam Books, 1984, 268 pages. An intimate record of day-to-day life in El Salvador's liberated zones. Dr. Clements spent a year

treating the people with little in the way of medical supplies. He came to love their spirit of self-sacrifice, while learning to hate its cause. Clements espouses no political philosophy, but in the style of John Reed, he allows the Salvadoreans to make their political point. Send \$17.20/copy to Bantam, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10103.

**Invest in Peace Organizing Kit**, Nukewatch, 1984, 22 pages. This collection of flyers and brochures was put together to help you organize an invest-in-peace campaign. The objective is to reinforce socially responsible investments by withdrawing funds from military contractors. The kit is overpriced, but some of the flyers are useful. Send \$7.50/kit to Nukewatch, 315 W. Gorham Street, Madison, WI 53703.

**The Longest War: Northern Ireland and the I.R.A.** by Kevin Kelley, Lawrence Hill, 1982, 363 pages. Since 1170 AD, the Irish people have been fighting for their freedom from England. Kelley takes one chapter to bring us up to date, and the rest of the book to inform us about the 20th Century. The book's strength lies in tracing a common element through eight centuries of warfare: there will be no peace until all of Ireland is free. Send \$9.95/copy to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

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## LISTENING, YES; INSIGHTS, NO

Eugene McCarthy

**T**he Rand Corporation, one of America's leading corporations which also features a think tank, has for some time been running an advertisement in the better business magazines touting a course in "Listening."

The advertisement suggests, if it does not positively assert, that most persons fail to rise in the business world and in the professions because they do not listen, or do not listen correctly. I did not subscribe to Rand Corporation's course, but was moved by its advertisements to wonder whether I was listening well. Possibly, I thought, I had been missing something or many things. Possibly I was not thinking clearly because I had not been listening. I resolved to listen attentively for a whole day, beginning just before dawn when I listened to the varied notes of the small birds, wood sparrows, I think, in the cedar hedge adjacent to my bedroom window.

**AFTER A** half hour of this listening, I heard the first morning cawing of the crows, followed by the cry of the catbirds, and of the blue jays, and then the drumming of woodpeckers on dead pine and tulip trees. By seven o'clock when I should have been getting up to begin work on a book I am supposed to be writing, I was still in bed,

listening. New sounds had come on, domestic ones, the crowing of Mary McCoy's rooster, and the bleating of her goats. The early morning plaintive mooing of Bill Senkewitz's cow, either calling for a calf, or for a neighbor's bull. Then came the raucous sound of Nelson Lane's jackass, reminding me of dawn in Jerusalem, and prompting me to listen in vain for the cry of muezzin, calling the faithful to morning prayer.

All through the day, I kept listening, according to the prescription of Rand Corporation. Each time, as I was about to stop listening, and go in to my typewriter, another sound distracted me—the mid-morning scream of a hawk, the skittering sound of the kingfisher as he skimmed above the pond water, the September humming bird, buzzing in late flowers, the noonday yelp of wild turkeys.

**I DID** interrupt my listening for lunch, but still unsatisfied, and apprehensive that, if I left off listening, I might spoil the whole Rand Corporation scheme. I returned to listening in the afternoon. Resting in a lawn chair, I noted the changing sound of the wind as it first came over the mountain, moving the high pines and oaks and tulip trees, that marked the ridge, and then worked down to gentler leaves of

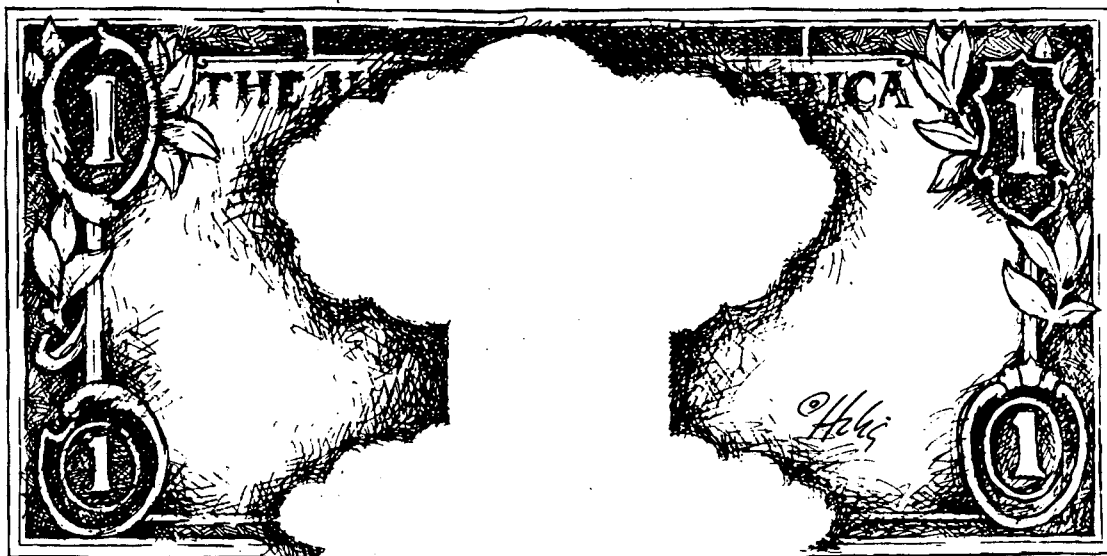
hickory and ash and to the almost soundless movement of the birch leaves and of the weeping willows.

When no wind blew, I could hear the maple leaves ticking onto the ground, counting off the end of summer.

**DURING MY** afternoon walk I continued to listen, to the sound of squirrels and chipmunks among the leaves and of rabbits, to the grunting of John Glasker's pig, loose in the woods unless it was the resident bear I heard. I noted the changing sound of Beaver Dam creek as more water fed into it as it ran on down to the old mill site, and noted also, in Thoreau fashion, the sound of the jets overhead, and of trucks on distant Route 552, as well as a muffled rumble of thunder beyond the mountains.

Late afternoon brought on the bobwhite, and the mocking birds, and then at dusk the sad singing of coon hounds waiting for night and then as darkness settled in, the bass notes of the bullfrogs and the shrill scrapings of the cicadas, and then the hooting of the owls, and again the lonely bellowing of cattle, and the jackass once more.

**I HAD** listened all day, and had come to none of the clear insights and understandings Rand Corporation had all but promised.



# THE FREEZE: A WASHOUT

**Norman Solomon**

*Norman Solomon is disarmament director of the National Fellowship of Reconciliation, and is coauthor of "Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation."*

This was to have been a watershed year for advocates of a nuclear weapons freeze. Instead, 1984 turned into a washout.

Pres. Reagan's re-election victory was a dramatic rebuff to freeze hopes, but it was an echo of an even more profound loss gradually suffered this year prior to the election. The nuclear weapons issue slipped away.

Sincere activists and campaigners, transfixed with the importance of preventing nuclear war, discovered that rhetoric cannot be patented by a social movement or a political ticket.

Thus, as Ronald Reagan addressed thousands of supporters packed into a Los Angeles ballroom on election night, he was a mocking bird for freeze-inspired rhetoric. Contending that children "are what this campaign was all about," Reagan pledged to pursue a policy that could "ultimately reduce nuclear weapons and banish them from the face of the earth entirely." The applause from the Reagan-Bush campaigners, if not deafening, was substantial.

On the one hand, such verbiage is absurd from a president who is overseeing the most massive buildup of doomsday hardware in history. But consider the words of Walter Mondale—who in his concession speech urged that Americans continue to strive to control these weapons before they destroy us all—two weeks earlier in the last debate: "I support the air-launched cruise missile, ground-launched missile, Pershing missile, the Trident submarine, the D-5 submarine, the Stealth technology, the Midgetman,—we have a whole range of technology."

In the person of Walter Mondale, millions of Americans voted for—and many worked for—someone backing weaponry they detest. The logic was, of course, to defeat an even more repugnant candidate. But by now much of the language accompanying freeze advocacy has been so trivialized that the disarmament constituency is likely to find it more of an encumbrance than a boost in the future.

There is something to the old adage about saying what we mean and meaning what we say. In the long run such an approach—while running the risk of appearing naive—avoids a far graver risk: outmaneuvering our own deeper beliefs. At best, sought-after victories, if won, might truly be weighty victories instead of hollow ones, of the sort that litter the nuclear age landscape of "arms control."

With millions of Mondale voters (I among them) grieving for the fate of the earth in these post-election days, an irony is that a Mondale presidency might have amounted to a setback for disarmament prospects.

The more that counterfeit items appear to be genuine, the less likely we are to discern the distinction. Mondale was imbued with sincerity, but if Mondale was a force for disarmament then Harry Truman was Mahatma Gandhi. Make-up and syntax were not the problem.

The best anti-nuclear weapons argument for focusing on lobbying and election during the past couple of years has been the need to defeat the Reagan re-election drive. Whatever the merit of an argument that ultimately meant melting into the Democratic party, it now no longer applies.

With the next Congress virtually indistinguishable from the last one, certainly we will hear that the lobbying/election cycle has simply moved along to

another phase of an arduous *real politik* process. Yet I am reminded of the classic theme in Charlie Chaplin's "Modern Times" film, in which the endearing and hardworking fellow walks along the street still making the wrenching motion he had grown so accustomed to on the assembly line.

The reflexive form of the movement is understandable. But does it make much sense?

Paradoxically, what has seemed to be the "nuclear freeze" concept's strongest feature—a broad base of support—has circumscribed its possibilities. Wide but not deep, in the end the freeze was not anchored much of anywhere.

Social comic Lenny Bruce was not the first to observe that through overuse, words lose meaning. In many ways, abhorrence of nuclear war and even of its weaponry has become a non sequitur of American political parlance which can be pressed into service of build-ups, build-downs or anything else.

This situation reflects a certain success by anti-nuclear activists, but it also presents a confining plateau.

On election night, as Reagan voiced the ritual plea of the chief executive hoping for nuclear disarmament, his script provided a tip of the hat to a constituency for such lip service courtesies that now includes many bedrock conservatives. According to a Los Angeles Times poll, 62 percent of delegates to the 1984 Republican National Convention said they supported a freeze on nuclear testing, production and deployment—results which some National Freeze Campaign organizers considered a victory. Those 62 percent of the delegates, of course, no less than the rest, joined in renominating Reagan by acclamation.

In these waning days of 1984, we could find it useful to reflect on the reality that when language loses meaning, then all manner of atrocities become more possible. For Americans who crave authentic disarmament, the search for lessons from this Orwellian year may uncover the importance of saying what we mean and meaning what we say, every step of the way.

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# THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR

**William Beeman**

*William Beeman, an anthropologist at Brown University, has travelled extensively in India doing field work.*

The tragic death of Indira Gandhi at the hands of Sikh extremists demonstrates once again that ethnicity and religion are dangerous and potent political forces, even in our increasingly sophisticated and technological world.

It is ironic that India, which has now joined the club of nuclear powers, should have its leader of the past decade and a half assassinated largely because of her stand on controlling religious and ethnic forces within her own nation.

Mrs. Gandhi was a nation-builder, and a leader who gave strong support to India's development. Under her leadership India became the world's ninth largest industrial power, and achieved self-sufficiency in food production. Its engineers and scientists are revered the world over, and its best institutions of higher learning have become the equal of universities anywhere.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Gandhi had little patience with questions of religion or ethnicity and dealt with protest and violence in India's many ethnic communities in a heavy-handed way whenever they occurred. The Sikh problem was only one of many she regularly faced.

The Sikhs are arguably the most prosperous of India's many religious and ethnic groups. They live in an area, the Punjab, which supplies more agricultural produce than any other region in the nation. They have been successful in commerce, and have long been known as a forthright and direct people.

They have also long felt their contribution to the Indian nation as a whole has been met with exploitation and discrimination. For all the income produced in the Punjab, the central government returned very little.

The Sikhs demanded some degree of regional autonomy, which the Indian government resisted as divisive. Instead, the state of Haryana was created, and shared a capital, Chandigarh, with the Sikh-dominated Punjab—a move seen as denying the Sikhs any local governmental authority at all. They would prefer to have their seat of government in Amritsar, the seat of the Sikh religion.

All these frustrations culminated when Sikh protest leaders were flushed out of the sacred Golden Temple in Amritsar earlier this year. This violated one of the most sacred of human rights—the right of sanctuary—and constituted a rape of the most sacred of Sikh religious shrines. The government may have felt it had no choice, but the storming of the temple was a grave error, which has exacted an equally grave price.

When human religious institutions are violated in this way it does not guarantee that violence will occur, but it does extend the range of possibility for violence. Storming sacred places, reviling religious figures, showing disrespect for ethnic sensibilities—all are symbolic denials of the dignity of human communities.

Religious and ethnic symbols lie at the core of human feelings. State governments toy with them at their peril.

Sadly, the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi is the latest in a series of violent acts which have the same root cause: violation of religious and ethnic sensibilities. Mrs. Gandhi's government refused to compromise with the Sikhs, and she was assassinated when extremist elements in that community reached the point where they felt they had no choice but violence.

Other recent cases of violence against central governments and heads of state are similar in that they involve fringe extremists so fervent in their protests they are willing to die for their cause when they see no other avenue for making their community's grievances felt.

- Margaret Thatcher's government has reached an impasse with the Irish Republican Army, and extremist elements in that body nearly succeeded in eliminating her and her cabinet in Brighton.

- The U.S.-backed Maronite Christian government of Lebanon has refused to share power with the country's largest ethnic minority—Shi'ite Muslims—and that group has twice bombed the U.S. Embassy in suicide missions that killed dozens of embassy employees.

- Anwar Sadat of Egypt moved his nation into a close accord with Israel and the West to the chagrin of religious fundamentalists and he was assassinated.

- The Shah of Iran divorced himself from his people behind a sea of foreign governments and investors, insulted religious leaders, and allowed the army to open fire on unarmed women and children who protested his actions. Thus he started the revolution which drove him into exile.

No one can condone these extremist acts—least of all the Sikhs, Northern Irish Catholics, Lebanese Shiites, Egyptians or Iranians. The vast majority of those in all these communities condemn extremist acts.

Still, realizing that these communities have been placed under extraordinary pressure by central governments—governments which seem not to care about their feelings and identity—should help outsiders understand that extremist actions are not just the result of irrational behavior on the part of communities gone mad. Violence is completely predictable under conditions of extreme political duress where symbolic sensibilities are violated.

This message is hard for Americans to understand at times. I recently heard a well-known economist tell a meeting, "The world has gone crazy—people are not behaving according to rational economic standards. Suddenly religion and ethnicity are important."

The truth is, they were always important, as Mrs. Gandhi's tragic death has once again shown.

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# WAR BY PLAGUE

With a global stockpile of nuclear arms containing the explosive force of three tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth, it hardly seems the superpowers need other deadly weapons in their arsenals.

But a series of recent letters from a prominent Soviet scientist to colleagues in the West has raised the spectre of another arms race—one involving genetically engineered biological weapons.

According to *Environmental Action* magazine, the scientist, Leonid Rvachev, has developed a series of three sophisticated groups of mathematical rules that he claims can accurately predict how an influenza epidemic might spread worldwide. His model, if sound, could be an enormous boon for disease control, since it could help public health officials to anticipate how an epidemic would spread within various areas, and how many people would likely be affected.

For example, if there were an outbreak of an infectious disease in Washington, knowing what fraction of

the population is susceptible to the disease and certain other information could enable planners to anticipate when the disease would be likely to appear in London, or Los Angeles, and how many individuals would likely be infected per day, over time.

But the mathematical model also could make biological war more feasible since it could allow war strategists to calculate how a biological agent would spread in an enemy nation, and how to go about innoculating their own population to prevent the spread of the agent at home.

Chief of the Laboratory of Epidemiological Cybernetics at Moscow's prestigious Gamaleya Research Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology, Rvachev apparently developed his model for peaceful purposes but is now fearful that it could be used for destructive ones. Last year he sent a 96-page document detailing his research to at least four scientists in the U.S., Europe and Australia, along with a cover letter in stilted English urging them to support the creation of an international body to monitor the development of such models. In more recent correspondence, Rvachev has warned of the potential dangers of genetic engineer-

ing for destructive purposes.

The superpowers are forbidden by the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention to produce biological agents as weaponry (although production is allowed for "protective or peaceful purposes"). Until now, one major deterrent against offensive use of biological weapons—aside from the treaty—has been the inability to predict just how disease would spread. Rvachev's mathematical model could remove that stumbling block. And the advent of genetic engineering adds a frightening new dimension to the prospect of such weaponry, since it makes it possible to wed highly infectious but mild viruses such as influenza with very deadly agents that are not easily spread, such as Legionnaires' disease.

Rvachev's most recent research has only just begun to receive critical scrutiny by

the handful of experts in this highly specialized field in the West. And his letters, which are rather cryptic, in part because of the stilted English, have raised many questions. For example, does Rvachev know of actual attempts to use his research for destructive purposes, or does he merely fear such potential use?

In either event, at least one expert in mathematical modeling of epidemics takes the Soviet scientist's letters seriously. Dr. Ira Longini, now an assistant professor of biometry (a field that involves applying statistical techniques to biological problems) at Emory University in Atlanta told *Environmental Action*, "When someone begins alluding to, as Rvachev does, that his work may be twisted into a way to carry out biogenetic warfare, I find that extremely alarming."

—Common Cause Magazine

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## TOPICS

taking over the Senate in 1980, the Democrats have controlled both houses since 1954.

There is more than cheer to be found here. There is wisdom as well. Unfortunately, the national Democratic party has become not only isolated from its regional and local parts, it has become so with arrogance and indifference. It is catatonic and contented.

Last summer, I found myself cracking lobster claws at a Maine clambake with a Democratic state legislator, who, when he was not in Augusta legislating, worked as a retail sales clerk. What I found most fascinating about the discussion was that the legislator seemed to regard me as a reasonable fellow, while, when I expressed the same views to "informed" Democrats in Washington, they were often met with the sort of patronizing glances granted the naive, impractical and hopelessly idealistic. I became aware again of the huge gap between Augusta and Washington.

Now that the pros have thoroughly blown two national elections, the first demand ordinary Democrats should make of their leaders is a modicum of humility and civility. It is time to listen to people who can actually win elections. The Robert Strauss's, the Washington wheeler-dealers, the high-paid but empirically ineffective image-makers, will not, of course, give up their positions easily, but the effort is worth it.

A decentralization of power within the Democratic party might, among other things, help the Democrats wean themselves from their federally-centered approach to politics. This approach developed at a time when state and local governments were notoriously corrupt and ineffective. It was logical for Roosevelt; it makes little political or philosophical sense today. Both the strength of the party and the gestalt of the nation is in the hustings and this is where Democratic politics and programs should be concentrated.

I was reminded of how far we are from this at present the other day when I was saying to a Democratic friend that the party should give the Republicans the Fortune 500 and become the party of choice for small business. "But," he said, "we've passed lots of legislation for small business."

The assumption that the Democratic party has done its work when it passed congressional legislation is as erroneous as it is deep-seated. In the case of small business, for example, the view of the party is formed not just by national legislation, but by the concern and actions of Democratic officials at every level. I know more than a few small business people who will vote Republican in part because they have been mistreated by Democratic city administrations.

No national platform, no laundry list of congressional legislation, is going to be able to counter the image and substance of what the Democrats at a more proximate location are doing. Here is the hidden strength of the Democratic Party. For it is where the Democrats are closest to the people that they are doing the best. If the national experts would just get out of the way, we might be able to celebrate and capitalize on this fact.

## Fizzle

I am not enthralled by the current tendency of journalists to write interminably of their troubles and illnesses, whether terminal or otherwise, but fate has intervened in the production of the Review with such bizarre consistency over the past year that I feel I should warn you that it is not unlikely that some forthcoming issue may be drastically delayed or disappear entirely on its way to your mailbox. That it hasn't happened to date is purest luck which, judging from the way things have been going around here, is not my strong suit.

The trouble began back in April when I pinched a nerve in my back while weightlifting. Thanks to my Radio Shack Model 100 computer, which can be operated while prone -- my favorite position for the succeeding six months, I was able to get the

May, June and Summer issues out. I also found that my desktop computer could be operated on the floor if I wasn't in a hurry and learned to read sideways.

Being something of a de facto Christian Scientist, I had self-diagnosed my trouble as a pulled hamstring and didn't go see the doctor for two months. A couple of days before I was due to leave for a family visit to Chicago and Wisconsin, I finally submitted to secular science and was given a muscle relaxant that relaxed nothing except my sphincter muscle during the precise period when I was supposed to be pleasant to all my wife's cousins in Chicago. As I churned back and forth from bathroom to living room I was certain I was confirming what Ronald Reagan had told them about people in Washington. Outside of a drive during a tornado watch through a town that had recently been evaporated by a twister, and a thunderstorm that lit up the fuse box in my Wisconsin cabin bedroom like RFK Stadium during the Michael Jackson concert, the rest of the trip was uneventful.

Upon my return, I had no sooner completed the last issue before the summer break when someone broke into the office and stole the aforementioned computers, their companion printers and the phone answering machine. Breaking into the office was no mean feat since it required access to the roof and someone small enough to squeeze in between an air conditioner and the window frame beside it. The police arrived at the office of the Review, observed the editor excuse himself and take to the floor, and asked, "What sort of publication is this anyway?"

A detective later told me that someone they called Spiderman who could climb in anywhere had been working the neighborhood, but that he had been arrested and that he (the detective not Spiderman) had a cousin in Boston who had taken laser treatment for his back and that seemed to be the way to go. "Back problems are the biggest thing in the police department," he reassured me.

By this time I had discovered that approximately 87% of the American public had back problems and that 97% of the American public had cures for it ranging from injecting oneself with the essence of avocado pit to the advice from a man seriously ill with cancer that "if you've got that siatica you might as well go out and shoot yourself."

I closed up shop for August as usual and went off to Maine to recuperate. This worked reasonably well with the exception of the day that I found myself holding a 21 foot cruiser off the beach in the 40 knot winds of a surprise squall, waiting for my companions to return and watching the picnic flying down the beach, splattering taco sauce, Dorito chips and paper cups over the sands. This, so far as I've been able to determine, is not on anyone's list of back cures.

Back in Washington, I put out the October and November issues without aid of a computer, recovered from my pinched nerve and generally put my life in order. There were bars on all the windows now and the insurance company had reimbursed me, so I went out and bought a new computer. One week later I walked into my office to find that a six foot by eight foot section of plaster ceiling had fallen. "Christ," I thought, "they're coming through the ceiling now." But it wasn't Spiderman or a terrorist action (although it certainly looked like what you would find when you followed the instruction, "For photos of the attack see page A3"), just fate back again. I spent a couple of days cleaning up the mess and when I returned to my computer found that some of my programs were sending me wierd error messages, mostly encouraging me to "try another disc." After a day of this, not even another disc worked.

Oh well, I told myself, one thing's certain: my luck has got to change. I was still saying things like that to myself a few days later when I went to get the tire for my car which was being repaired after it had inexplicably gone flat (the fourth flat tire in a year). As I reached to put the tire in the car, my back said in its own inimitable way, "I can take a joke as well as anyone but this is ridiculous" and out it went again. It chose to protest by a simple muscle seizure this time but for a day or so I could only have been moved by a fork lift truck.

So here I am, lying on my bed preparing yet another issue of the Review with a Radio Shack 100 propped against my knees and making plans for my forthcoming coffee table book, "Great Ceilings of America."

There is no moral here, I hope, and if there is a message, damned if I can find it. But I wanted you to know that if things are more erratic than usual around here there are some extenuating circumstances. As the Maine farmer said when his wife died, he smashed his thumb while making the coffin, the horse got loose from the wagon as he was driving to the church, the coffin bounced off and fell into a pond and the loose wagon rolled through the plate glass window of the post office with one pole ending up in the general delivery window and the other in air mail slot, "my day's been one long fizzle from beginning to end."

## GOP

Bush knew the buttons to push, emphasizing technology, jobs and personal income. He stated, "We're too great to wrap ourselves up in malaise and bad news."

Unquestionably the young Republicans agreed that they didn't want to hear any bad news, ever.

At the side of the rally, members of a Chicano student organization stood with tape over their mouths in silent protest. A spokesman explained, "Silence is more powerful than the ranting and raving that went on at the Mondale rally. Lashing out is the strategy of the Republicans and it's what would lead to nuclear war."

Meanwhile, surrounding the school is a vast, impoverished ghetto of Hispanic Americans, African Americans and Asian Americans, whose children comprise the majority population of the city's future. But none of them were at the rally, which campus Republicans described as boosting the country's future.

In addition to the Chicanos, a small group of protestors from the Black Student's Union held placards quietly, away from the rally area. But apart from them, the attendance was entirely Caucasian.

And that left my former student and the young man who'd held the door for me neatly satisfied. The rally went easily, with no trouble, no questions, simple.

Twenty minutes after Bush had gone, a freshman, still wearing two stickers and carrying a Bush sign, analyzed. "Everyone had a nice attitude and was showing a lot of spirit today. The music was great. We were all up at the front, yelling and cheering, trying to have Bush wave to us."

As they returned to their table outside the student union to continue giving out the big buttons, I finally realized what they reminded me of.

Next to them was a table where the Moonies were recruiting, and next to the Moonies were the Krishnas and next to them was a fundamentalist Christian group, handing out invitations to prayer meetings.

Perhaps it's too extreme a comparison, but looking into the trusting bluest of blue eyes under the blondest of blond hair over open, friendly smiles, it struck me that they are "true believers," that Republicanism is their way to make everything OK in a threatening world.

And if it's not quite seen as the way to God, for a few it represents at least a way back home to the arms of protecting parents, to the simpler world that Reagan holds out, to their time of innocence.

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## WILSON

ministers and for senior Whitehall officials who were involved in the unnecessary *Belgrano* decisions and who will find a lot of detail comes out in the trial. At best, it will demonstrate the draconian nature of Section Two, and in particular that it offers no defence that a leaker has acted in the public interest, and that it makes punishable by a prison sentence the acts of men and women of high conscience when they feel they have no alternative.

A system that can honour a civil servant for high achievement and presumably for integrity and then a few months later seek to send him to prison because he broke the rules and slightly embarrassed ministers is a system that has no sense of perspective.

If Ponting is found innocent, Section Two will be finished. If he is convicted and sent to prison, there will be such an uproar that Section Two may also be finished. Thus the sinking of the *Belgrano* could, ironically, have as its major *longterm* effect the sinking of one of the pillars of power in Britain.

A total of more than 1.8 million households are expected to have their natural gas disconnected in 1984 because of inability to pay high bills, according to the National Consumer Law Center. A report by the Center shows that low-income families pay four times the percentage of income for home energy paid by an average American household, with up to 50% of their income going to energy costs.

The report said that federal home heating assistance benefits are inadequate, with the average benefit amounting to only 60% of the amount owed to the utility when service is terminated. Federal benefits have stayed about the same since 1981, while natural gas costs increased 40% from 1981 to 1983.

The report noted that 1.6 million families were actually shut off in 1983.

-Columbus Free Press

## McDOWELL

and bystanders. ... There were no tissue ballots, no stuffing ballot boxes, or tampering with them, no suppression of ballots, or slipping them into wrong boxes, no false counts or fraudulent returns."

The introduction of the secret ballot did bring fraud, but it eliminated a certain amount of intimidation and more subtle invasions of voters' rights. In any case, Virginia got the fraud more or less under control within about 100 years.

★ ★ ★

As for campaign spending, currently in the stupefying billions, Stuart wrote that he spent "not one dollar beyond my necessary traveling expenses."

"In these days [the 1880s] of ... the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars in elections, this may seem strange and almost incredible. ... The use of money in Virginia, at that day, to influence elections was unknown, and if it had been shown that a candidate had attempted to use it ... he would have been overwhelmed by a storm of popular indignation."

A.H.H. Stuart won the election in 1841, served in Congress until 1843 and later joined Fillmore's Cabinet. James McDowell was governor from 1843 to 1846, and then was able to get elected to Congress.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

## STONE

can prove to me they made an attempt to place, but who are considered unadoptable.

"That means blacks, Hispanics or native Americans who are 9 or older, females over 10, whites over 12 and children with emotional problems — what I call challenges."

A colleague in Odo's department praised his dedication.

"Affliction for him is tangible. One child is blind and deaf.

"They have family meetings all the time and the older kids pitch in and help. He goes to outlet discount stores to buy clothes. It's a constant struggle."

Odo has had to endure challenges on two other fronts.

"My greatest challenge is fighting the agencies," he explained.

"They are racist, sexist and incompetent.

"I'm making a blanket statement. I have never worked with a good agency.

"But," he quickly added, "I have had good case workers.

"Also, the black middle-class community has a problem with me.

"I have a very strong African identity and that's hard for some of them."

Odo paused reflectively.

"The responsibilities are big and this is not easy.

"But like you said, it's fantastically rewarding.

"I don't think we have a choice.

"We are gambling with double jeopardy if we don't take care of our children.

"Not only do we fail them but they'll turn on us one day for abandoning them."

Philadelphia Daily News

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**MR LINCOLN'S CITY: AN ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO THE CIVIL WAR SITES OF WASHINGTON.** Hidden among the massive government buildings and quiet lawns of modern Washington lie innumerable reminders of the way it was in 1861-1865 during the years of the Civil War. This engrossing guide will lead you to the sites which still exist and bring vividly into your imagination those now gone from the scene. The major downtown tour, designed to be taken on foot or by car, presents 63 sites, each accompanied by wartime photographs or drawings, many heretofore unpublished. Two tours go beyond the city. Author Richard Lee has supplied 15 maps as outstanding as the pictures. \$12.95



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FOOTNOTE WASHINGTON: Bryson rash, who broadcast news and commentary here for more than 40 years, has compiled a collection of sidebar stories about Washington that you'll love to read and then buy more copies as gifts. Find out why the city has no J Street; where you can find a 130-year-old elevator still in operation, and which equestrian statue in the city underwent a sex change operation, plus much more.

\$7.95

# GOING PLACES WITH CHILDREN

This 10th edition of Washington's baedeker for juniors is now being used to shepherd offspring of parents who themselves attended Green Acres School. The current parent body has updated their 22-year-old guide to include the newest of 400 things for kids to see and do in the capital. **\$4.95**

**THE FIRST WOMEN WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS.** Tells the story of women who early broke the sex barrier to cover the capital city, beginning with Jane Grey Swisshelm who won a seat in the Senate Press Gallery in 1850 despite a warning from Vice President Fillmore that "the place would be very unpleasant for a lady." \$2.00

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THIRTY-TWO PICTURE POST CARDS OF OLD WASHINGTON, DC.  
Ready to mail. Rare photos reproduced as post cards in  
sepia. A different way to stay in touch. \$2.75.

**CAPTIVE CAPITAL:** Sam Smith tells the story of non-federal Washington. "Not only well worth reading, but it is the best book we are likely to read on Washington," Bryce Nelson of the LA Times. "An excellent gift," Bill Raspberry in the Washington Post. "Must Reading," Afro-American. "A joy to read," Robert Cassidy in the Chicago Tribune.

NOW ONLY \$5 A COPY

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**GENTRIFICATION IN ADAMS MORGAN: Political and Commercial Consequences of Neighborhood Change.** Going behind the cliches to actually what happens in gentrification, author Jeffrey Henig has presented an important addition to the study of this phenomenon. \$5.00

## THE VIEW FROM RAPPAHANNOCK

By Eugene J. McCarthy

**THE VIEW FROM RAPPAHANNOCK.** By Eugene J. McCarthy. Pied-month Virginia where the former Senator and regular contributor to the Review now parks his boots -- and writes about them -- is fine country to reflect in. His corner of it, Rappahannock County, is about as remote as you can get and still be near some place (Washington, DC). Close up to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Rappahannock County has no towns of consequence, no industry, no important civic monuments and very few people. It's delightful country. McCarthy loves it, and readers will share his affection. Generation of British essayists have written to us about their dogs; junting wild mushrooms; the weather; the poetry of living in cranky old houses. McCarthy scratches his dog as they did; lives in one of their houses. His vignettes are a perfect meal. There aren't too many, they are perfectly seasoned, and an hour later you're hungry for more. \$9.95.

## CAPTIVE CAPITAL

By Sam Smith

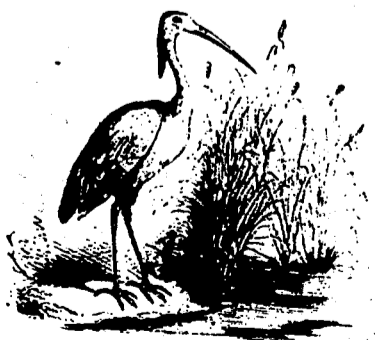
*Could be an excellent gift for any friend just moving to town. Or any friend who has managed to live here for sometime without learning anything about Washington. . . . Sam Smith's is one of the few efforts I have seen that manages to deal with black people and white people without insulting either.* -- WILLIAM RASPBERRY, WASHINGTON POST

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"CAPTIVE CAPITAL" tells the story of non-federal Washington, the city beyond the monuments. Published in 1974, on the eve of an elected government in DC, it tells of the city's struggle for independence and self-respect. Written by Gazette editor Sam Smith.

Originally sold for \$8.50 the book is now available for only \$4. Get one for yourself and send it as a gift to someone new in town.



## CITY DESK Cont'd

**HOW BERKELEY DOES IT** That's how Berkeley, California, did it, according to Mayor Gus Newport. Newport, one of this country's few progressive mayors, was in town the other day and spent lunchtime with a group of local activists, during which he quickly demonstrated how far the distance is between Washington and Berkeley. When told that DC's rent control bill has to be renewed periodically, he shook his head and said that wouldn't work. Newport also said that Berkeley will be considering a moratorium on all development until new planning controls are worked out.

"Office development does less for your tax base, causes more problems and creates more traffic than anything else," said Newport. "As far as I'm concerned, I don't care if we don't get any more offices."

He feels the same way about big corporations. "As far as I'm concerned no corporation needs to think about coming into Berkeley. The money goes out to the home offices and they're not labor intensive."

Newport is interested in boosting Berkeley's cooperative community. Already, over half of the city's families belong to a co-op. He also believes cities have to get involved in international trade and has moved to establish a sister-city relationship with the progressive Italian city of Bologna.

**THE INITIATIVE ROUTE:** As a quick look at our report card will indicate, there is not much to hope for out of our city council. This is even more frustrating when you realize that the DC council is probably more progressive than most such bodies around the country. But the control by big interests is so profound that the council can no longer be trusted or relied upon. There is a way around this: the initiative route. It takes time, money and effort but we've proved it can work. For example, now that the council has caved into the mayor and the developers on the comprehensive plan, why not an initiative requiring the approval of the appropriate neighborhood commission for any zoning change or planned unit development? Our guess this would have considerable appeal across the city and could really shake up the way business is done here.

**YUCHWORLD:** The National Capital Planning Commission ignored its own staff in voting to approve the latest hyper-development scheme for the city, Techworld. The staff had recommended rejection of the project unless its size and shape were changed. Said the staff report, "If built as proposed, it could establish devastating precedents for future private development in the city." The two block hotel-office-trademart project, planned for south of Mount Vernon Square and adjacent to the convention center, has already been rejected once by the Zoning Commission and the NCPC. Now it's up before the ZC again. In their revised plan, Techworld only took 1000 square feet out of their 1.5 million square foot project, still wants to close 8th Street to traffic and build a bridge across it, traversing a vista that was part of the L'Enfant plan. In addition to the NCPC staff, the project has been criticized by the Washington Planning and Housing Association and by the DC Preservation League.

The misbegotten effort to elect Jerry Moore as a write-in candidate not only left its proponents with egg on their face, it resulted in the defeat of Jo Butler, who could of beaten Carol Schwartz if she hadn't had to run against Moore as well. Jo ran a very respectable race under trying circumstances. ●●● There was a dramatic increase in voter participation in the city council race in Ward Eight. 73% more votes were cast in the at-large race there than in 1980. Although the ward still pulls less than half the weight of Ward 3, this is still a big change. ●●● Carol Schwartz got 43% of the vote in Ward 3 compared to the 37% Jerry Moore got in 1976 and the 34% he got in 1980. The Moore write-in effort, meanwhile, did



## Roses & Thorns

**ROSES TO THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS** DIRECTOR EMMETT H FREMAUX for the best run election we've seen in years. The tone of Fremaux's operation can be seen in a recent issue of a newsletter sent to pollworkers, which shows a fine and, in this government, rare, attention to detail. The newsletter contains problems encountered by pollworkers and what the board was doing about them. For example, there were complaints that the plastic bags provided for the ballot boxes in 1983 were too small. The letter responded, "WE GOOFED! The ones for November 6 are guaranteed to be commodious."

**ROSES TO THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION** for urging that the city reject suggestions that the number of cabs be restricted. The FTC recently filed anti-trust suits against two cities that limit the number of taxi licenses.

**THORNS TO THE WASHINGTON WEEKLY** for its house ad for a special supplement on condos and townhouses. In the ad was the question, "Can I make a suggestion as to the editorial comment?" The answer was: "Absolutely, call 955-7500 or meet with your account executive."

**ROSES TO CITY AUDITOR OTIS TROUPE** for blowing the whistle on Mayor Barry for hiring four former city officials as paid consultants for work that Troupe says could have easily been done by city workers. Beneficiaries of the deals were James Buford, former head of the Department of Human Services, Robert Moore, former director of housing, William Rumsey, former recreation director, and Sterling Tucker, former city council chair.

worst in Ward 3, attracting only 6% of the total votes. ●●●● The Reagan vote percentage was within two points of his 1980 figures in every ward except redistricted Ward 2 where it went from 16% in 1980 to 21% in 1984. One of the things this shows is that John Anderson, in DC at least, took nearly all his votes from normally Democratic voters.

One of the curiosities about the debate over the shelter initiative was where those 15,000 homeless people suddenly came from. From our reading of the message heretofore dispensed from city hall we were living in a capital city, a city on the move, a city of unparalleled economic growth, in which progress was as inevitable as a hotdog stand. Suddenly, when the relatively mild proposal was made that the city provide a roof over the heads of those otherwise unprotected, a homeless underclass arose, threatening to engulf the city and drain it of the resources it had hard-earned from spin-off benefits of convention centers, Oliver Carr developments and the like. It is interesting to note that both the media and city critics of the initiative tended to ignore the fact that three other jurisdictions, New York

City; Charleston, West Virginia; and Los Angeles County already have such shelter requirements without the dire effects predicted here. The difference is that in these other places, the right was won through lawsuit, while in DC the move was through the ballot box.

It is to the credit of the voters of DC that they saw through the Reaganesque attempt to create fear of, rather than concern for, the victim. This attempt hit a low point when local Democratic chair Ivanhoe Donaldson urged his colleagues on the state committee to reject the initiative because "anyone making \$50,000 could walk in and have to be provided free shelter for the night." According to the estimable Loose Lips in the City Paper, the committee voted down the endorsement of the initiative with only one dissent and then served itself cake and champagne in honor of Donaldson's birthday.

A few days later, Mayor Barry went Donaldson one better, announcing that "a person making \$100,000 a year could technically be eligible for shelter in the District." This remarkable fear was expressed at a news conference during which the mayor announced the creation of a new DC office to provide care for the homeless. What sort of care? All together now: comprehensive care!

The office will be manned by 27 professional and administrative personnel backed by 15 case workers, proving once again that every form of human misery has its silver lining: it provides new jobs for bureaucrats.

The population of DC jail is up 106% since 1978 -- more than the increase in local jail population in any state except North Dakota. Local jail population increased 41% nationwide during this period. Worse, we have far and away the most number of jail inmates per capita (456 per 100,000), a 119% increase for the period. Runner-up is Georgia with 178 inmates per 100,000 population. The number of women prisoners has also shot up, matched only by that in Maryland and Louisiana. Keep in mind that these figures are for jails, not prisons, and reflect, among other things, a substantial increase in the number of people being held while awaiting trial.

These figures, from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, come at a time when the issue of overcrowding at DC Jail -- one of the longest-running and most distressing failures of the city government, is once again in court. The matter is before Judge William Bryant as the jail headcount runs a thousand prisoners over the design capacity of 1378. The National Prison Project has urged the court to force the city to cut the number of prisoners to just under 1700 by February and down to capacity by next July. Bryant said at one point, "I am about to do something [about it]. This is ridiculous."

Endurance athlete Mary Margaret Goodwin has postponed her swim of the Potomac until next summer. According to the Potomac Basin Reporter, Goodwin had planned to swim from DC to the Chesapeake to raise the public awareness of the river as an environmental and recreational resource. Before attempting the swim, which she estimated would take about 48 hours, Goodwin went to England to swim the English Channel. Five weeks of continuous bad weather saw her return home without having made the attempt.

Lusk, the real estate reporting outfit, says that what appears to be the largest local residential real estate transfer occurred recently when two properties (3238 and 3240 R St. NW) were sold for nearly \$3 million. The properties were bought by nominees who appear to represent the billionaire Bass brothers of Texas, recently featured in a cover story in Newsweek. The Bass brothers have been involved in extensive real estate dealings in northern Virginia. Lusk says "Since the properties to all intensive purposes [sic] have been transferred together this may be deemed to constitute the largest sale ever for a DC residential property, surpassing

the \$2.5 million Mr. and Mrs. Ben Bradlee paid in 1983 for their house on N Street." The houses are interesting historically. One was occupied by General Henry Halleck, Commander in Chief of the Union Army and Abraham Lincoln was a frequent visitor. The other served as the summer White House of President Grant.

The long planned Museum of the City of Washington has found at least a temporary home. The Board of Education has unanimously approved a five year agreement with the museum for use of space in the Hayes school building, 5th & K NE. Under the agreement, the schools will maintain the building and the museum will provide a variety of educational and museum services to the school system. The museum will have the option of negotiating the conversion of this agreement into a fifty year lease at the end of five years. The museum is three blocks from the Capital Children's Museum.

Because the Statehood and Republican parties did not run candidates for many offices in their primaries, a strange assortment of people came out the winners of those primaries through a handful of write-in votes. HR Crawford, for example, won the Democratic, Republican and Statehood primaries in Ward 7 and Calvin Lockridge won the Republican and Statehood primaries in Ward 8. The significance of this curiosity is that the board of elections has now accepted that you do not have to be a member of a party to win its primary -- opposite, for write-ins, at least, to a decision it had taken some years back. There now is, it would appear, no legal reason why the Statehood Party, if it chooses, should not nominate and elect non-Statehood members in its primary. It could, if this theory is correct, have nominated Walter Mondale as its candidate for president, for example.

The import of this is considerable. If accepted by the board of elections or the courts, it would mean the Statehood Party would gain the enviable status of the Liberal and Conservative parties in New York, where multiple slating has long been permitted, and allow the DCSP to become a more potent force in local politics.

Beginning this month, temporary shelters are being established by churches in the general Herndon/Reston area. Volunteers, supplies and money needed immediately. Call Sally Sterbutzel (442-0999/442-8686) or Leigh Barner (437-1566) for donations and questions. Tax deductible contributions are being handled by FISH. Earmark your contribution "Shelter" and mail to: FISH, P.O. Box 2272, Reston, VA 22090.

WEATHER

Launch on Warning Unconstitutional?

A California computer expert has filed suit against the Pentagon, saying its plans to develop a new missile warning system are unconstitutional. Stanford University Professor Clifford Johnson claims the Defense Department's rumored "launch-on-warning" strategy could trigger a nuclear counterattack before actual hostilities had been confirmed. Johnson, a British citizen, asserts that America's founding fathers never intended that the President's war-making powers would be turned over to a machine. The government responded by telling a federal judge the case raised national security questions that could not be discussed in court. The judge said the question should be taken to a higher court with "perhaps greater wisdom." Johnson's appeal is currently before a three-judge federal panel.

How Women Fared

Though the Democratic ticket with Geraldine Ferraro lost by a huge margin, the number of women in public office continues to rise steadily, though slowly.

According to Judy Goldsmith, leader of the National Organization for Women, most of the women candidates for Senate and House seats faced tough races against incumbents, a difficult position considering incumbents' better name recognition and fund-raising abilities.

Only incumbent Kansas Senator Nancy Kassebaum won a Senate seat. There are two new women in Congress, a woman governor in Vermont, two lieutenant governors (one in Michigan and one in North Dakota), a new secretary of state in Oregon, and the nation's first women attorney general, Arlene Violet in Rhode Island.

On the state level, says the National Women's Education Fund, the number of women in state legislatures rose one percent, from 991 women in 1983 to 1067 in 1984. Kathy Wilson, leader of the NWPC, said that "it's frustrating the measure progress in inches and not miles—but the thing is, we always make progress."

Witness for the Defense

A convicted murderer in California has escaped the gas chamber with help from an unlikely source: the executioner. Defense attorney Fred Alschuler called prison guards and wardens to the stand during the penalty phase, so the jury could hear in graphic detail what capital punishment is really like. The jurors were so grossed out they gave the defendant life imprisonment instead. Says Alschuler: "If you don't do this, you've put on an incomplete defense."

Find the Evil Empire

Is there really any difference between US and Soviet military policies? Apparently not enough so you could tell. Reasearchers from Stanford University asked *Psychology Today* readers to identify ten different military actions or arms-control policies of countries labelled only as "Superpower A" or "Superpower B." The 3500 people who responded averaged less than five correct answers out of ten. They'd have done better flipping coins.

The researchers acknowledge that the US and the Soviet Union conduct their *domestic* affairs very differently, but say their survey reveals the two countries as mirror images in the international arena. What one country calls a defensive action, the other calls aggression. The researchers conclude: "If it's impossible to distinguish between unlabeled Soviet and American actions, then global conflict can't be accurately described as a struggle between good and evil."

The Old Ronald Reagan

Yes, Ronald Reagan used to support the ERA. Not only that, he used to favor liberal abortion laws.

Just before the election, California Democrats unearthed two documents from the time Reagan was California's governor to show how his attitude has changed. One document replying to an invitation to study the ERA recorded Reagan saying, "I am in

THE TOP TEN MILITARY CONTRACTORS

	FY83	FY80	Fortune 500#	Weapons
1. General Dynamics	\$6.8*	\$3.5 (1)	46	F-16, Trident subs, SLCM, DIVAD, M-1, M-60 tanks
2. McDonnell Douglas	\$6.1	\$3.2 (2)	42	F-15, F-18, KC-10, AV-8B aircraft
3. Rockwell Int.	\$4.5	\$0.9 (14)	43	B-1B, MX, Hellfire missile, nuclear weapon components
4. General Electric	\$4.5	\$2.2 (5)	10	Ship nuclear reactors, jet engines, ICBM re-entry vehicles
5. Boeing Co.	\$4.4	\$2.4 (4)	27	C-135, B-52 upgrades, ALCM, AWACS, E-3A aircraft
6. Lockheed Corp.	\$4.0	\$2.0 (6)	50	C-5, P-3, C-130 aircraft, Trident missiles
7. United Technologies	\$3.8	\$3.1 (3)	18	Jet engines, UH-60 CH-53, SH-60 helicopters
8. Tenneco Inc.	\$3.7	\$1.5 (9)	19	Aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines
9. Hughes	\$3.2	\$1.8 (7)		AH-64 helicopter, Phoenix missile, electronics, radars
10. Raytheon Co.	\$2.7	\$1.7 (8)	59	Hawk, Sidewinder, Dragon, Sparrow missiles

\*\$ Billions

Source: DOD

Chart prepared by CDI

PROGRESSIVES SURVIVE REAGAN BLITZ

All senators up for reelection who were rated 80% or better by the ADA won reelection. In addition, one of the senators (Jepsen-Ia) with the worst voting records lost to a former progressive House member (Harkin-Ia.). In the House, only about a half dozen high-scoring congressmembers lost their seats in this election.

full support of the Equal Rights Amendment”—he further hoped his name could be used to drum up support. Another item, a press release from his office, said he fully sympathized with attempts to liberalize abortion laws.

Henry Kissinger Rakes It In

Henry Kissinger is cleaning up. A New York business magazine added up the former Secretary of State's income, and came up with these impressive figures: A million dollar advance for his memoirs, a hundred grand a year for serving on the boards of 20th Century Fox, American Express and other corporations, \$20,000 for every speech he gives, and \$4 million a year as a private foreign policy consultant. The magazine notes that Kissinger is in the unique position of being able to command substantial fees "for commenting on problems some say he has caused, contributed to or failed to stop when he was in office."

Women & Agent Orange

None of the estimated 17,000 women who served in Vietnam as members of the military or as civilians employed by service organizations such as the Red Cross are being interviewed or examined as part of a major government study to determine if there is a link between exposure to Agent Orange and later health problems, according to *Common Cause Magazine*.

The article says that women are being excluded from the government's \$73-million study of Agent Orange, conducted by the Atlanta Centers for Disease Control, despite the fact that some women now say they are experiencing health problems that they believe may be associated with Agent Orange, including birth defects among their children.

Techno-Peasants

To make sure women don't wind up as the "techno-peasants" of the computer world, an education group has announced the establishment of a National Center for Computer Equity in Washington.

The Project on Equal Education Rights, a part of the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund, says the center's purpose is to do research and develop materials that will help schools, parents and policy-makers to make sure women and girls get an equal chance at computer education.

As computer programming classes stand now, according to PEER, they tend to be offered as advanced studies in math departments, still generally a male stronghold. And while girls are a minority in the programming classes, they were found in a survey of California high schools to outnumber the boys three to one in classes directed toward the lower-status jobs of word processing and data entry.

Says PEER director Leslie Wolfe: "Once again, the schools are becoming a breeding ground for a pattern of opportunity based on sex, race and class, rather than on abilities."

One of the ways we find new readers is through a program of sample distribution. If you know of an organization, store or center that might be willing to distribute free copies of the Review on an occasional basis, please let us know. Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. NW DC 20009.

BOOKS

*The Military in Your Backyard: How to Determine the Impact of Military Spending in Your Community* by Randy Schutt, Center for Economic Conversion, 1984, 176 pages. Schutt's workbook is the latest in a long series of how-to-research manuals. The style is folksy, if a little too elementary, and the design is poor. Also, a political perspective is lacking. Still, this is the most detailed and comprehensive work available to those who need facts to supplement their organizing. Send \$14.20/copy to CEC, 222 View Street, Suite C, Mountain View, CA 94041.

*Grenada: The World Against the Crime*, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana, 1983, 325 pages. The editors admit that this is not a historical treatment of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Rather, it is a collection of press clippings which illustrate what happened on that still-captive island and how the world reacted. For readers who have only seen the Pentagon's versions, this book will open many eyes.

*U.S. Pacification Program in El Salvador*, NARMIC, 1983, 8 pages. A quarter of this pamphlet is consumed by charts that some might find useful. The rest is an excellent expose of the futility of the U.S. strategy in El Salvador. Most readers would benefit if the charts were replaced with some history of an earlier, futile, pacification program. Send \$1.37/copy to NARMIC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.

*More Bucks, Less Bang: How the Pentagon Buys Ineffective Weapons* edited by Dina Rasor, Fund for Constitutional Government (FCG), 1983, 341 pages. Dina Rasor has proven her point: there is an innate problem with a Pentagon bureaucracy that awards wasteful contracts for weapons that don't work. Unfortunately, it is written from the political bias of the "cheap hawks, closet patriots, and whistle-blowers" who want to make the military more effi-

cient. Their solutions are wrong, but they sure know the problems, having seen them from the inside. Send \$10.00/copy to FCG, P.O. Box 15007-A, Washington, DC 20003.

*Our Future at Stake: A Teenager's Guide to Stopping the Nuclear Arms Race*, New Society Publishers (NSP), 1984, 68 pages. Nine teenagers spent the summer of 1983 clarifying and researching what they wanted to know about the arms race. The outcome was this useful book, which is evenly divided between a discussion of the problem and an outline of what can be done about it. It will be a hit when it gets into the right hands. Send \$8.45/copy to NSP, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.

*Third World Resource Directory* edited by Thomas P. Fenton and Mary J. Heffron, Orbis Books, 1984, 283 pages. Trained by the Maryknoll Order, the editors spent three years with the Data Center in Oakland, California, researching this directory. In its final form, the book is a guide to organizations and publications that are active in the Third World. It also points people toward organizations working for social change around the issues of hunger, human rights, peace, transnational corporations, and sex discrimination. The cross indexing is exceptionally useful. Send \$17.95/copy to Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY 10545.

APPLE

when a government committee suggested banning Christmas gifts to conserve resources for the war effort. But the bureaucrats changed their minds, thanks to the urgent pleas of the toy industry.

A new McDonald's restaurant opens every 18 hours and at it and other McDonald's around the country, 8400 hamburgers are being sold every minute.

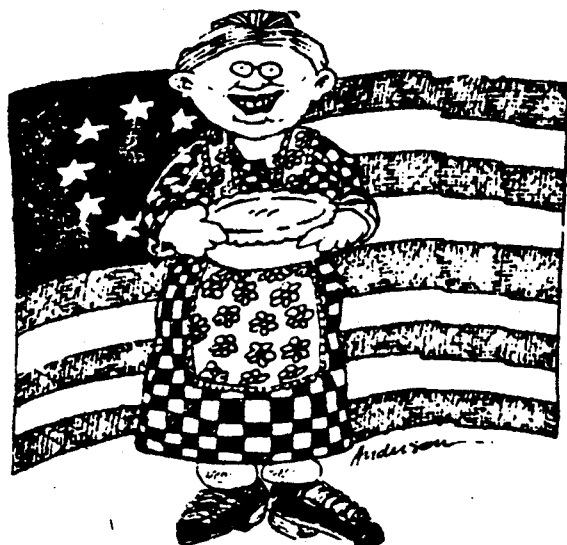
The Anaheim, California, city council has approved a thousand dollar fine for anyone flipping tortillas at the California Angels ballpark.



The International Monetary Fund has released a study of the percentage of capital being formed in various countries that comes from public enterprise. Here are some examples:

Algeria	67.6%
Zambia	61.2%
Burma	60.6%
Pakistan	44.6%
India	33.7%
Mexico	29.4%
Brazil	22.8%
South Korea	22.8%
Norway	22.0%
Argentina	19.6%
Great Britain	17.1%
Thailand	12.8%
Chile	12.6%
Japan	11.2%
West Germany	10.8%
United States	4.4%

The study only covered mixed economies and used statistics from years ranging from 1978 to 1982.



## Apple Pie

A Minneapolis "Dial-A-Teacher" service aimed at helping grade-schoolers with their homework is attracting a growing number of calls from undergraduates at the University of Minnesota.

Ronald Reagan says religion isn't an issue, but some Michigan Republicans didn't get the message. GOP Congressman Mark Siljander and two others sent letters to pastors in Democratic Congressman Howard Wolpe's district. The message: "Send a Christian to Congress." That appeal didn't go over big with Wolpe...he's Jewish. The Republicans claim the letters aren't anti-semitic. In fact they accuse *Wolpe* of injecting religion into the race because he complained about them.

An elevator has talked itself out of a job. The lift in a swanky California hotel was programmed to say things like "Going up?" "Floor seven," and "Please stand clear." But guests took offense at being addressed on such familiar terms by a mere machine. As a result, the voice will be replaced by a simple beep. Says a representative: "It is inappropriate for elevators to talk in this type of hotel."

A detailed study of prostitutes in the San Francisco Bay areas has exploded some myths about the world's oldest profession. Contrary to the popular stereotype, most of the hookers were happy with their profession. Nearly half said they liked the money, while 20 percent said they did it "for excitement and to meet interesting people." Ron Martinelli, a San Jose police officer who spent a year interviewing the hookers, says another false assumption is that women are forced into prostitution. In fact, he says, 98 percent got involved on their own initiative.

Next time some institution wants you to take a personality test, consider this: it's probably hopelessly out-of-date. Mayo Clinic psychologist John Colligan says the most widely used test—the Minnesota Multiphasic—was written in 1934. Back then, the standard of "normality" was a midwestern farmer who never made it past the eighth grade. Compared to that, we *all* seem crazy. As proof, the psychologist gave the test to 1400 modern-day midwesterners. Their score: "Pathological."

Ever wonder what business executives carry around in those snappy-looking briefcases? Ann Ryan knows. She's in charge of inspecting carry-on luggage at New York's Kennedy Airport. The inside story is that she gets to see a lot of dirty socks and an occasional surprise, like kinky sex devices or, in one instance, \$14,000 in cash. What are the trends? Snickers Bars have started showing up a lot.

So have Sony Walkman stereos. But books have all but disappeared. Says Ryan: "I think I came across one book in the last five months."

The award for procrastinating student of the year—or maybe the century—goes to...Bernard Warshauer of Brooklyn. He finally got around to handing in his term paper at Erasmus High School—68 years late. The school responded by giving him a half-credit and his high school diploma, class of 1916.

If you write back with a "no, thanks" to a mail solicitation, you're guaranteed a full mailbox. Mass-mailers have discovered there's money in rejection. The reason? People who take the trouble to send back a turn-down are prime prospects for other offers. That's why the American Museum of Natural History is selling a list of 200,000 people who said "No" to its membership drive. The list is being touted as perfect for charities, gourmet food, books, or just about anything not connected with natural history.

Tatyana Mamonova, who was exiled from the USSR in 1980 after publishing an underground feminist journal. Currently researching a book on the differences between Russian and US feminism, she says: "The Soviet Union has had a version of the ERA since 1918, but that and other laws are simply on paper.... One might say that in the West, consciousness is actually ahead of the law, whereas in the USSR, the laws are ahead of the consciousness."

Women are as likely as men to physically abuse their future spouses, but they don't use anywhere near the same force.

Psychologist Daniel O'Leary at The State University of New York studied 369 engaged couples and found 37 percent of the women and 34 percent of the men had physically assaulted their fiances at least once. The preferred forms of abuse differed, however, with the women more apt to slap, push, shove or kick and the men going in for hitting, slugging, or threatening their future mates with a weapon.

Follow-up interviews conducted six months after the couples' weddings showed those people who struck out at each other before taking their vows continued the same behavior *after* their walks down the aisle.

Once upon a time, Uncle Sam almost stole Christmas. It happened during World War One,

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